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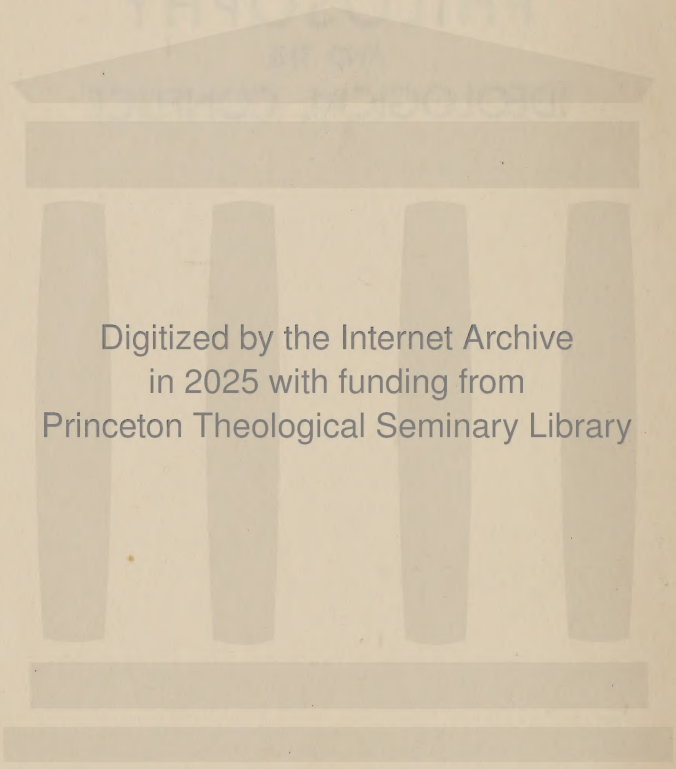

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PHILOSOPHY AND THE IDEOLOGICAL CONFLICT

An Analysis of Idealism and Materialism and the Influence of These Philosophies on the Over-All World Struggle between Capitalism and Socialism

BY
CHARLES S. SEELY

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CONTENTS

Chapter		Page
	Foreword	1
	PART ONE : IDEALISM	
I	Background of Philosophy	11
II	Greek Idealism	24
III	Influence of Ancient Idealistic Religions on Christianity	36
IV	Influence of Idealism on Christianity	43
V	Idealism of the Dark Ages	54
VI	Renaissance Idealism	66
VII	German Idealism	76
VIII	Modern Trends and Uses of Idealism	85
IX	Supporters of Idealism (Rightists)	93
	PART TWO : MATERIALISM	
X	Ancient Materialism	100
XI	The Renaissance and the Revival of Materialistic Thought.	112
XII	Renaissance, and Later "Pre-Marxian," Materialism	127
XIII	Mechanical Materialism	143
XIV	Marxism, the Base of Modern Materialism	151
XV	Principles of Modern Materialism	159
XVI	Details of the Theory of Modern Materialism	168
XVII	Politics	179
XVIII	Economics	219
XIX	Sociology	246
XX	Religion	272
XXI	Freedom	285
XXII	Aims and Accomplishments	292
XXIII	Supporters of Materialism (Leftists)	301
XXIV	The Approaching Crisis	308
	Index	315

FOREWORD

Probably every man who ever lived in an antagonistic environment, and had time to think about anything except food, developed a system of thought which explained the universe that satisfied him at least to the extent that it made life bearable in a world containing multitudes of inexplicable things, many of which seemed to be his enemies seeking his destruction. But it is beyond the bounds of probability that any two of these systems have ever been alike. That is, probably no two thinkers ever explained the universe in exactly the same way. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that no two philosophies, wherever developed, have ever been alike. However, there are only two different streams of philosophical thought, and there is no philosophical system or idea that cannot be included in at least one of these streams. During the long history of philosophy these streams have intermingled somewhat, but from them two great, all-inclusive, philosophies, that offer entirely different explanations of the universe, have evolved. These philosophies are Idealism and Materialism, and they contain all the philosophy in the world. And it is not probable that a new philosophical system or idea, that cannot be included in these philosophies, will be advanced until the brain of man has developed far beyond its present ability to extend the complexities of abstract thought.*

The two great philosophies as they stand today are the products of the greatest minds of history, and are the most powerful intellectual forces in the world. These philosophies were designed to guide thought into molds and thus shape it to further certain definite aims. And they are now so highly developed for this specific purpose that they actually mold all opinion in the modern world. Because of this they now have a tremendous influence on every aspect of political, economic, social, and religious thought—that is, on every interest of man in which thinking is involved.

Each of these philosophies is now being used to a greater extent than ever before to further the particular aims for which it was designed. Because of the development of new, subtle, and exceedingly efficient propaganda techniques that carry ideas everywhere these philosophies are now more effective than ever before in molding thought. And there can be no doubt that even more subtle and efficient techniques

*The words "Idealism" and "Materialism" are used in a special technical sense, and are explained in detail in the text. They have no moral or ethical implications whatever.

will be developed which will increase the effectiveness of these philosophies. Therefore, it is certain that all peoples in the modern world, whether they know it or not, will from now on be guided by philosophy. This situation will continue with constantly increasing intensity and effect for as far into the future as can clearly be seen—and in any case for a generation. Because of this, no one can now "escape" the influence of philosophy, even if he should try—and no one with a sound mind will try to do this.

Philosophy was until recently of interest and value only to intellectuals, but it is now of great importance to all people. This change was brought about by the struggle between the two ideologies (political-economic-social-religious systems) capitalism and socialism, but was hastened and intensified by the fact that this conflict spread all over the world in such a manner that no one can now avoid it. (All previous ideological struggles were localized to the extent that only a small part of the population of the world was, at any one time, involved in the contests.)

The struggle between capitalism and socialism is the most important and outstanding fact of the present century, and it is being guided entirely by philosophy. This struggle, which was unavoidable and is almost uncontrollable, is now rapidly approaching its climax. Whether this climax will be passed in the greatest and most horrible war of all time, or in peace and good will between nations, depends entirely upon what is done by the peoples of the world between now and the time of crisis. And what is done will depend entirely upon what guides for action are accepted. If these guides are based mainly on ignorance, greed, prejudice, blind faith, and fear or similar emotions, war is certain, but if they are based on understanding, humaneness, reason, and common sense, peace will prevail. Because of these alternatives which the world now faces, it is absolutely necessary to avoid error in choosing guides for action, and this requires a good basic knowledge of Idealism and Materialism.

Only those who understand Idealism and Materialism can understand the struggle between the ideologies, and act intelligently concerning it. These philosophies are the most powerful weapons of ideological warfare, and they will decide this struggle, but unfortunately for world peace and humanity they are not generally understood, except within the socialistic countries. In all other countries many people have some knowledge of Idealism; but, except for such independent thinkers as scientists and other intellectuals, few know anything about Materialism. This is mainly due to the fact that the study of Materialism has for many years been discouraged, and severely limited, in capitalistic society. In fact, a knowledge of this philosophy is considered a social

handicap in this society, and many people, who could aid humanity more effectively with a knowledge of Materialism, dare not study it for fear of ostracism. (In all capitalistic society, Materialism is now generally considered to be an exceedingly "bad" and "foreign," philosophy, which contaminates the public mind; therefore, it should not be studied by anybody. Most leaders in this society insist that the general public must be carefully "protected" against contact with this philosophy.) If peace is to be preserved, however, both Materialism and Idealism must become known to a much larger percentage of the people who desire peace, and it is imperative that these philosophies become well known to those who would strongly oppose war, if they understood the basic reasons for the present ideological conflict.

The most important duty of all people—and the highest public service anyone can render—is to help prevent another world war. Such a war obviously should be prevented, and it can be if action is taken *in time*. But because enormous profits can be made in war, many influential people, representing powerful forces, are determined to bring about another great war. These people believe not only that they would not be hurt, even by a much more devastating conflict than the last world war, but that their economic and social positions would actually be made more secure by such a war. There is absolutely no basis for this belief except blind faith and false hope. The war, if and when it comes, will hurt everyone, and in no case will those who cause it escape the consequences of their action.

Nearly all of the people in the world are being used, with or without their knowledge, in the struggle between the ideologies, and this conflict has become such an integral part of the modern world that it can be carried on equally well in either peace or war. Because of this, it may at any time plunge the entire world into war, and it certainly will do this if enough of its influential leaders become convinced that the position of their side can be improved by war. Obviously, the world situation is critical and perilous—due entirely to the ideological struggle—and threatens everyone. But even so only a comparatively few people know that they are involved in this mighty contest, where their interests lie, or why and how it is being fought. And it is not probable that these things will be known by many people until it is too late to take action to avoid war, unless a more determined effort is made to preserve peace.

A great many people know so little about the ideological conflict that they are acting against peace, progress, and their own personal interests. But because they are under the influence of exceedingly subtle propaganda most of these people actually believe that they are acting in the interest of peace, progress, and their own personal welfare. This unsatisfactory condition within the world order cannot be changed until

there is a much clearer and broader understanding of the two great philosophies, Idealism and Materialism.

In connection with, and because of, the ideological struggle, the two philosophies are engaged in a contest with each other for supremacy in guiding thought and action in every phase of life, from the smallest of personal affairs of the individual to the greatest of world affairs. The ideological struggle may end in a way that can be considered approximately satisfactory by both sides. That is, there may not be a complete victory and a complete defeat, as in a military contest for example, but an end which can be rationalized by the losers as an acceptable compromise. This outcome is possible, if not probable, if the conflict is long drawn out and the eventual losers make considerable concessions before they become so weak that their bargaining power is ineffective. (All previous ideological contests have ended in a manner that was acceptable to the very great majority of the people on the losing side and which permitted them to adjust themselves to the new ideology without severe hardship.) In the philosophical struggle, however, no compromise is possible, mainly because the fundamental principles of the two philosophies cannot be reconciled but also because the interests of the proponents of one philosophy are the opposite of the interests of the proponents of the other. For example, the Roman Catholic Church, the strongest proponent of Idealism, is always weakened in direct proportion to the increase of the influence of Materialism, and this situation cannot possibly be changed. Because of this situation, this Church cannot compromise with, or even make any concessions whatever to, Materialism, and must of necessity always remain an uncompromising enemy of this philosophy. That is, this Church must accept every challenge of Materialism and fight this philosophy to the bitter end on all fronts—and it certainly will do this. (This Church, however, can compromise with socialism, and even though it is one of the strongest supporters of capitalism it has already made many concessions to socialistic principles. This is one of the many "contradictions" within capitalistic society which render it unstable in the modern world.)

The reason for the intensity of the struggle between Idealism and Materialism at this time is precisely the same as it was during the Renaissance—the emergence of a new world ideology (political-economic-social-religious system). The idealists, during the Renaissance, fought to prevent the establishment of capitalism, and now they are fighting to prevent the establishment of socialism. The materialists then fought to establish capitalism, and now they are fighting to establish socialism. In short, the struggle is the same now as it always has

been. The idealists now, as always, wish to prevent change in the world order, and the materialists wish to change the world order.

Civilization has finally reached the stage at which ideas cannot be stamped out, or even driven underground by force for a considerable length of time, therefore, from now on good (socially advantageous) ideas and bad (socially disadvantageous) ideas will always be virtually in open conflict. Because of this new situation people have a better opportunity than ever before to accept and put to use the good ideas and to reject as of no value to civilization the bad ideas. Even military force (war) will not and cannot be a decisive factor in this struggle of ideas, which reaches its highest form in the struggle between the philosophies.

The Second World War had no influence on the struggle between the ideologies, except to bring it into sharper focus, that is, to make clearer the issues involved in the conflict. And another great war, which would have to be fought mainly between the hemispheres, with the United States leading one side and the Soviet Union leading the other, would not affect the struggle, except to accelerate it and make it end sooner. In no case could such a war alter the final outcome of the struggle. Because the opposing forces would be approximately equal, and no mercy could be expected by the losers, such a war would be horrible beyond measure. It is extremely doubtful if either side could win, but the war would result in the overthrow of capitalism, the establishment of world socialism, and the founding of the eventual world state. These would be the only results of another great war which could conceivably be of any benefit to the majority of the peoples of the world. (A small segment of the radical element of the population, sometimes called the "lunatic fringe" of society, consider these anticipated results so necessary for the advancement of civilization that anything, including the most horrible war imaginable, which would produce them would be justified. That is, they hold that "the end justifies the means." This assumption is often valid and workable, but not in this case, because it requires the acceptance, by practically all liberals and progressives, of the theory of "salvation by catastrophe,"* and this is beyond the bounds of possibility. This theory obviously is never valid when there is a workable alternative, and there is one in this case. The alternative is education in the factors involved in the ideological struggle, especially the economic and social factors. If these factors become generally known the condition of humanity can be improved without resort to violence.)

Because of the nature of thought, the philosophy of an individual is often "impure," a mixture of Idealism and Materialism. In this case, the person concerned is part idealist and part materialist, but no thinker

*This theory is explained on pages 258-259.

can take a position *between* Idealism and Materialism. That is, no one who has enough understanding of the two philosophies to know the difference between them can "escape" having a philosophy of some kind. And if the philosophy a person has is a combination of the two philosophies—the usual situation in all capitalistic, and some socialistic, societies—he will support the one that influences him the most when, and if, it becomes necessary for him to take a definite stand on the matter, as it probably will during this generation. Because of these circumstances it is possible to determine in advance, with a high degree of accuracy, which philosophy an individual or group will support, and the strength of the opposing forces, with their approximate position within society, that will decide the philosophical struggle.

In the struggle between these philosophies practically all adults, knowingly or unknowingly, support one side or the other. Thus people are divided into two major groups,* one of which supports Idealism and the other Materialism. Each of these groups is composed of many minor groups each of which always supports the philosophy of its major group, although disagreements often arise among the minor groups themselves. (These differences of opinion are due to the fact that all human groups which are large enough to be influential contain many individuals who have been conditioned by quite different environments, and that probably no member of any particular group is confined solely to one group. It follows that all human groups overlap somewhat; that not only do the elements within the groups which support a given philosophy overlap, but also all the groups which support both of the philosophies overlap at least to some extent. These facts, however, do not alter the general situation as regards the over-all conflict between Idealism and Materialism. They merely indicate the complex nature of the struggle.)

Idealism is thousands of years older than Materialism, and its early development was greatly influenced by religion during a long period when the belief in supernatural intervention in the affairs of man was very strong. Because of this, Idealism is somewhat like religion in many respects, but mainly in that it has a tendency to ascribe things which man does not understand to supernatural agencies. Materialism, on the other hand, does not have this tendency, and is in all other respects less like religion than is Idealism. (Materialism is much more like science than religion, and is to science what religion is to Idealism. There is no doubt that Idealism evolved out of religion, Materialism evolved out of Idealism, and that science evolved out of Materialism—as the mind of man developed.)

*These groups are given in the text.

Both Idealism and Materialism were originated by men on the highest level of education and intelligence of their respective periods. These men were progressives and Idealism was the most progressive system of thought ever devised until Materialism was invented, but then a change occurred and Idealism lost its dominant progressive position to Materialism. (This was a natural development, as newer things are by nature more progressive than older things. The struggle between the philosophies began with the change, but the influence of Idealism remained very much stronger than that of Materialism for a long period of time —more than two thousand years. During this period Idealism, usually allied with religion, greatly hampered—and almost prevented—the development of Materialism. As a result, Materialism was not firmly established as a great and permanent intellectual force until the Renaissance when it was adopted by the then rising, progressive, capitalist class. At this time, however, this class was the most powerful progressive force in the world, and Materialism prospered greatly due to capitalist sponsorship. Ever since then the influence of Materialism has increased and the influence of Idealism has decreased. With the emergence of factories Materialism became the philosophy of factory workers, and they now constitute its mass base. Factory workers accept Materialism as their philosophy mainly because it holds that the world is composed of matter which man can change; that man can make over the world to suit himself without any supernatural aid. When anything which appears to be supernatural creeps into the domain of factory workers a scientific explanation of it is quickly made to them by scientists who are readily available for such duty to science. Idealism, however, is the philosophy of farm workers and they constitute its mass base. Idealism has an advantage over Materialism in shaping the minds of farm workers mainly because they are not as well educated as factory workers, but also because there is much more of the mysterious about things that grow on farms than there is about things that are made in factories, and scientists usually are not readily available to explain mysterious things to farm workers. Because of these circumstances farm workers are more liable to attribute things which they do not understand to supernatural agencies than factory workers are, and usually prefer a philosophy which can rationalize this custom.)

Because Idealism and Materialism are different, conflict of opinion is inevitable wherever they meet, and they are now meeting all over the world. Most, if not all, conflicts and misunderstandings between peoples everywhere are now due to the differences between these philosophies. In many countries, but especially those in western Europe and southern Asia, these conflicts and misunderstandings are of such a provocative nature that they greatly stimulate thought. Because of this

they are molding the opinion not only of the present but also of the future. This opinion, in its final form, will depend upon which philosophy—Idealism or Materialism—influences the most people who will shape the near future. It necessarily follows that the direction which future civilization will take depends upon which philosophy the majority of the young people of the present generation accept as their chief guide to action. Because of this, a clear understanding of both philosophies is necessary for everyone interested in progress and the advancement of civilization.

The purpose of this book is to provide a clear understanding of these philosophies and their use in the struggle between the two ideologies capitalism and socialism. Especial effort is made to explain, as clearly and as simply as possible, the differences between these philosophies and the position they take on the issues involved in the ideological conflict. Because this conflict is all-important to progress, and the advancement of civilization generally, the dominating influence of philosophy in the over-all struggle is explained in detail. (When this influence is known the world situation can be understood, and a much more accurate estimate of its future developments can be made than would otherwise be possible.)

In order to make the present ideological conflict easier to understand, the role of philosophy in previous ideological conflicts is presented. This includes an explanation of how and why philosophy developed, and why it was inevitable in the long struggle man has made to live in an antagonistic, and often hostile, environment. Short sketches of the views of the philosophers who have had the greatest influence on thought and action in what are now the most advanced areas of the world are given in order that readers may know why people now in the vanguard of civilization think, believe, and act as they do. These sketches are of necessity very brief, but they include the chief contributions that the greatest thinkers of all time have made to the explanation of the nature of the universe and the things in it. These contributions, constantly repeated and restated in many different forms, have conditioned the mind of modern man to such an extent that they influence practically all of his thinking. (Many other great philosophers, of course, have expressed opinions which now influence thought, but their ideas were similar to those of the thinkers mentioned above, and may be considered early beginnings, or variations, of the ideas developed mainly by the greatest philosophers, and are supplementary contributions.) Emphasis is given to the contributions which have the greatest influence on politics, economics, sociology,* and religion** in the modern world.

C. S. S.

*The words "sociology" and "social," wherever they appear in this book, are assumed to include everything within the range of human activity which is not included in politics, economics, or religion.

**There are many quite different good definitions of the word "religion," most of which are connected with morals or ethics, and because of this there is a great difference of opinion as to the precise meaning of the word. However, in this book the word "religion" is considered to mean only man's connection with the "superior" supernatural forces, that is, with these forces which are higher than (superior to) magic. Neither morals nor ethics are in any way involved in this conception of religion. (The chief difference between the superior and the inferior supernatural forces is in their power. The power of the former is considered unlimited and beyond the control of man, while that of the latter is limited and within his control.)

PART ONE

IDEALISM

CHAPTER I

Background of Philosophy

Philosophy is a system of thought that offers an explanation of the universe, and of every unproved thing in the universe, from the standpoint of reason. It is the best effort man has made to rationalize the nature of unproved things, and therefore is of the greatest value to man. It is absolutely necessary for the modern man, and will remain so until science, its ultimate successor, has advanced much farther unto the unknown.

Man has ever wanted to know the "why" and "how" of things, and from the time when his brain reached the point in its development at which abstract thought was possible he has been trying to understand the universe, especially the part of it that directly affects him—the world he lives in. This desire for knowledge, which began ages before there was any philosophy, constantly increased as man advanced, and it caused him to develop systems of thought to help him understand things. This resulted in the development of explanations of the universe in the following order: magic, religion, philosophy, and science. Each of these explanations developed as the ability of man to think developed, and they clearly reflect the intellectual advancement of man. But philosophy, even though it has now been superseded by science as the best explanation of things, influences more educated and intelligent people than all the other systems of thought combined.

From the dawn of history philosophy has constantly engaged the

attention of man, and nothing except religion has had a greater influence on civilized man. Without philosophy man would still be only a little above a stone-age savage, living in constant abject fear of the forces of nature from which there could be no escape. Fear was always the chief enemy of primitive man, and it controlled him and prevented him from emerging as a rational being.

If any progress was to be made in the world—if civilization was to begin—man had to obtain at least some measure of freedom from his fear of nature, and he finally began to do this, first with magic and later with religion. Magic and religion assigned reasons for the things which caused fear, and developed systems that helped man to control these things. In this way these systems stimulated thought, which in turn produced multitudes of new ideas about both the natural and the supernatural. By experimenting with these ideas over a long period of time, man finally invented philosophy. With this new device to guide him, man made greater progress against fear of both the known and the unknown. Man then began to emerge as a rational being, and civilization was made possible. Ever since then philosophy has been the best device man has had for stimulating and developing thought. With this device he has moved upward, and his rate of progress has been in direct proportion to his advance in philosophical thought.

Early philosophy was closely related to religion and early religion was closely related to magic, and all three of these devices were used by early man to his great advantage. It is not probable that man could have made any progress without magic, and he certainly could not have dispensed with magic if he had not obtained religion.

Philosophy began as an ally of religion, and it developed with religion as man searched for truth, mainly in the field of the supernatural. But recent great political, economic, and social readjustments made necessary by two world wars have tended to separate philosophical thought from religious thought, and to give precedence to a comparatively modern trend in philosophy, which searches for truth in the field of science. The older philosophical systems continue to be allied with religion, and of necessity must remain with religion in its great field of speculation and conjecture where supernatural things are paramount. The newer philosophical systems, however, are allied

with science in its special field of material (natural) phenomena, which is entirely outside the field of the supernatural.

Until modern times all philosophy throughout the world, except the materialistic philosophy of ancient Greece and Rome, was in, and remained in, fields which science did not penetrate. But modern philosophy has entered the field of science, and has accepted the responsibility for making the all-important role of science less difficult. It aids science by presenting evidence and advancing theories concerning the nature of things for science to prove or disprove. Modern philosophy itself, however, does not attempt to prove anything. In fact it is not the function of any philosophy to prove things, and none can prove things. Philosophy cannot even prove that the universe itself exists. This is true, even though it is also true that philosophers are, and always have been, the greatest thinkers. Thinking only produces ideas, which are not proofs. Proof, certainty, fact, etc., are determined by science, through sense experience (action) in the field of material phenomena, and not by philosophy, which is in, and must remain in, the field of thought.

The value to progress of any philosophy rests on its ability to select from the great fields of unproved things those that will best aid the advancement of civilization. Modern philosophy does this better than any other device known to man, and it delivers the things it selects to science for final judgment as to value. It thus renders a great service to man as it narrows the field of speculation and conjecture which science of necessity must enter if the struggle of man for existence is to be made easier and civilization is to advance at its fastest possible rate. In other words, modern philosophy is the guide of the vanguard of civilization, which blazes the trail into the unknown for science to follow in its search for truth. It, in this way, accelerates progress by relieving science of the necessity of exploring unknown and distant fields until reason has selected the things in those fields which seem to offer the best promise of aiding humanity.

As a basis for study of the universe it is necessary to assume that the universe exists. All philosophers concede this, even though philosophy cannot prove the existence of anything, but they disagree radically as to the nature of the universe. (With the sole exception of the priesthood there is a greater difference of opinion among philo-

sophers than among any other thinkers.) Some philosophers even contend that the universe does not really exist; that man merely imagines it exists. But this kind of existence is considered sufficient for purposes of study, and unless it is assumed that the universe exists, at least in the mind of man, neither the universe nor philosophy can be comprehended.

Idealism is by far the oldest, best known, and most widespread philosophy. This system of thought was early developed wherever civilization developed, and it not only was a good rationalization of things, but was also an excellent technique for social control. It was especially designed to help rulers control the ruled, and it showed how kings, lords, and rulers of every kind should rule to the best advantage of themselves. At the beginning of philosophy, and during its early stages, there was no important difference—and no conflict—between the philosophies of the then many nations of the world. And there was no philosophy except Idealism anywhere in the world until about the seventh century B. C., when Materialism arose in Greece to challenge Greek Idealism. For these reasons none of the many great ancient idealist philosophies of Egypt, India, Persia, China, and other countries need be considered here.

Idealism is based on the theory that mind (thought) is primary and that matter (material) is secondary. It holds that ideas are produced by mind, and are the only things that are known or can be known; that matter is not known and cannot be known. It holds that mind is a part of the "spirit" (supernatural) world and existed before matter; that mind, by supernatural means, produced matter. It holds that a "master mind," of a supernatural being, made the universe, and started it moving, and keeps it moving; that this master mind is the controlling factor in the universe, and is the cause of everything. It holds that this mind is constantly at work operating everything, watching everything, and keeping everything in order.

The word "Idealism" is not a good name for this philosophy, because in popular usage it has a quite different meaning from that used in philosophy. This fact has led to a serious misunderstanding as to the nature of this philosophy. Most people understand the words "Idealism," "idealisitc," etc. to refer to high moral or ethical ideals, and therefore believe that Idealism is an ethical philosophy—a system

of thought which teaches high moral and ethical principles. Actually, however, the word "Idealism" when used in philosophy has no such meaning and has no connection whatever with ideals. In philosophy the words "Idealism," "idealistic," etc., refer only to a particular kind of system of thought concerning the nature of the universe, and the world "idealist" means only a proponent of this system. But very few people know this, and as a consequence confusion results and people are misled. This circumstance has, for a long time, been a strong brake on progress. Obviously, in the interest of progress, as well as of accuracy, the name of this philosophy should be changed, and because it contends that mind (idea) is primary to matter, "Ideaism" would be a much better—more appropriate—name for it. "Ideaism" describes this philosophy much more accurately than "Idealism" does, and if adopted it would eliminate the confusion and misunderstanding which now prevails about this philosophy, especially among new students of the various philosophical systems.

Idealism (or "Ideaism") holds that causes can be found only in the realm of the supernatural, and never in the field of natural (material) things. Until modern times it held that nothing ever really changed. It now, however, concedes that some change takes place, but it holds that this is caused by a spiritual (supernatural) force which is not known to science, and can never be known by science. (Idealism holds that this force has no body or material aspect of any kind.)

Idealism is, and always has been, closely associated with religion, and its earliest form was "theological" Idealism, a philosophy having very strong religious tendencies. However, Idealism was not invented until thousands of years after religion had been fully developed and firmly established. (The early idealistic philosophers believed that ideas were the causes of all things, while the religionists believed that the gods were the causes of all things. Both the philosophers and the religionists thought that ideas in the minds of men were to the world what ideas in the minds of gods were to the universe.)

Idealism arose because of the problems which confronted primitive man, therefore some knowledge of those problems is necessary as a base for a clear understanding of this philosophy. The life of primitive man was always insecure, and often in grave danger, mainly because of the many animals that wanted to kill him but also because of other

things in a primitive environment. As man increased in numbers the always difficult problem of obtaining enough food, shelter, and clothing for all became still more difficult. This situation stimulated thought, as obviously man had to have these necessities in order to survive, and it finally forced him to devise a system of thought that would provide a continuous supply of things that he needed. This system was magic, and it made possible organized human effort for the security and welfare of all. Magic gave man his first protection against both the natural and the supernatural—the real and the imagined—forces which seemed to be his enemies. It also gave the tribe its first techniques by which it could pass along its social experiences to its young. It was the first system man used to obtain security, and it had great survival value.

Magic was the first great product of abstract thought—the first technique for control of society—and it was invented, not as a result of idle speculation as to the nature of unknown things, as is often suggested, but because of the need to control these things. That is, man did not produce magic merely because his brain had developed to a point at which abstract thought was possible, and thereby enabled him to develop a complicated system of thought. He produced it because he needed a technique which would enable him to control his environment. Magic, in this way, became the first rationalization of unknown things, the forerunner of all religion, philosophy, and science, and man used it to great advantage to control his world. He put it to work—forced it to do things—for the tribe, and because of magic the race survived.

Food was by far the most important thing in the life of primitive man, and because of this the first magic techniques he devised concerned the food supply. These techniques were designed mainly to control the collection and distribution of food, and they were used for this purpose probably for at least a hundred thousand years. And no other technique than magic was ever used, during this very long period in the development of society, to insure an equitable distribution of food. Magic, therefore, had a tremendous influence and effect on man. So much so that even today, after ages of religion, philosophy, and science, it still is one of the four greatest molders of thought in the world. It permeates all religion and idealistic philosophy to such

an extent that it is the chief intellectual force in the life of nearly half of the peoples of the world.

In primitive society where food was abundant there was no need to control the food supply, and as a consequence there was no magic or any other technique for dealing with the unknown or supernatural forces in connection with this supply. And no device to control these forces, and thereby to control the food supply, was produced until man became conscious of a scarcity of food. He then, however, realized that he must control all the forces which influenced the things he needed, and magic gave him this control. This did not occur until thousands of years after the tribe was formed, and a division of effort (both physical and mental) was made. Eventually, however, after tribal society was well developed, the old and other physically and mentally unfit people began to develop magic. (In primitive society mentally unbalanced people are considered in closer touch with supernatural forces than normal people, and because of this are used as mediums in dealing with these forces. This fact was especially noted among the American Indians by early settlers.)

But magic was produced and developed by the physically and mentally unfit of the tribe only because this class of people could not aid the tribe in any other way, and people who were of no value to the tribe soon perished. The occupation of producing and developing magic made it possible for the unfit to live longer—if their magic was convincing enough to be of value to the tribe. Therefore, the unfit tried hard to develop a magic that was convincing, and they succeeded. And their success made life easier and safer for all primitive people in their struggle for existence wherever they encountered antagonistic or hostile environments. Thus the "unfit" of the tribe laid the foundation of all civilization and progress. These same people soon became the advisers of the chief of the tribe, but as magic increased in importance the mentally fit—the more educated, intelligent, and clever—people gradually pushed the unfit into the background as producers and developers of magic. This was a natural development in this field as magic gave power, prestige, and economic security to its makers. (The people who developed magic to its highest extent finally originated religion, a more efficient system for aiding the tribe in primitive society. As recently as 1923 there were pygmy tribes

in the Philippine Islands which had no magic or religion of any kind, and had never had any. The food supply of these tribes had always been sufficient, and they probably were never conscious of an antagonistic environment. Therefore, they had no need for a technique for food control, or for an explanation of things.)

Nearly all of the time primitive man was awake—during all of his life—was spent in obtaining food, and this situation continued practically unchanged for at least three hundred thousand years. Because of this the principal animal that supplied man with food came to be regarded with great interest. And the initiation into early tribal society—the most important and impressive ceremony among primitive peoples—showed all the new members of the tribe all the secrets of how to kill this animal, which was, in the later stages of this society, eaten with great ceremony. Finally, this animal became the tribe's totem (a primitive divinity having supernatural powers), and was then compelled to do things for the tribe. After this time no one but the chief was allowed to eat the totem, as from then on it was believed that the chief could acquire the supernatural powers of the totem by eating it, and by this diet be able to do things for the tribe which no other person could do. In this way magic, through the totem, became a very important device by which man began to control his world, and for ages he used the totem to aid the tribe in dealing with supernatural forces. In the last stage of this ancient idea the totem animal was not actually eaten, but a substitute of some kind was eaten in its stead.

Religion supplanted magic as a device for aiding the tribe when the chief became inaccessible to the people of the tribe. After the tribe became large it was not possible for the chief to settle every question or even to consider many of the problems that arose in the tribe, therefore, he surrounded himself with advisers (usually designated as magicians, witch doctors, or medicine men). This was an absolutely necessary development within the tribe as otherwise the chief could have had no privacy, and minor details would have taken so much of his time that the primary interests of the tribe would have suffered.

After the people of the tribe found that they could not personally make requests of the chief they began to pray to him. There was no

other way to reach him, even though at this stage of the tribe the chief was not a ruler, ruling the ruled, but was only a leader among equals. The chief then had his advisers explain to the people the details of prayer, and especially how to pray to get the best results. At first prayers were merely requests by equals to equals, and the answers to them were determined mainly by the need of the person making the request. Eventually, however, after the system was fully developed, answers were determined mainly by the value of a gift which had to accompany the prayer, rather than by need. The mental and physical attitude of the person praying was also then taken into consideration, and prayer began to take the form of servile pleading or begging. And even though the gift was a very important part of the ritual, the more meek, abject, and cringing the pleader, and the more servile, degrading, and groveling his bodily posture while pleading, the more likely he was to receive what he wanted. (These general rules of prayer, many thousands of years old, remain essentially the same today, except that now the gift is not necessary at the time of the prayer, and the plea is directed to a supernatural being instead of a mortal. The foot and toe kissing ceremonies, and others almost equally servile, which still exist in some religious sects, stem from this very ancient tribal custom.)

The advisers of the chief eventually formed the first priesthood, and they originated and developed all early religion. This new system of thought began to do things for the tribe, as magic had done earlier, but the relation between religion and the tribe was far different from that which had existed between magic and the tribe. The tribe could compel magic to do many things, but it was never able to compel religion to do anything. It could only beg religion to do things, and religion exacted a price for everything it did. This was a drastic change in man's connection with the supernatural, and it was at this point in the development of society that the priest—then, and for ages afterwards, considered simply the magician, witch doctor, or medicine man—became powerful. He then obtained power second only to the chief, and always thereafter influenced the actions of the chief. Often he became more powerful than the chief, and sometimes he even was recognized as being superior to the chief.

At the beginning, and for thousands of years afterwards, religion

had to do only with matters here on earth—while people were alive. It preceded by ages the idea of immortality of the soul, or of a future life. Religion early produced many gods, but these gods influenced only the earthly life of man. They helped or hindered man as the situation demanded according to rules laid down by those who claimed close contact with the gods. (Gods were a major interest of at least nearly all early idealist philosophers, and they still are the strongest factor that influences the thinking of idealists.)

During the first wars between tribes all prisoners were killed, mainly because they were not useful and were too expensive to keep. Food was then too valuable to give to prisoners. Later the prisoners were kept alive to work as slaves for their captors, and this was the beginning of the transition from the tribe to the state. (The state began when a man hired another to watch over prisoners at work as slaves, and for many generations afterwards the state was composed of free men and slaves.) The early slaves usually raised no objection to their new condition of life, as they were only too thankful for the privilege of remaining alive. After a long period of time, however, it was found necessary to convince the slaves that their place in society was the proper one for them. Religion was used for this purpose, and it proved an excellent device to justify slavery. Religion contented that the gods had so decreed that some should rule and others should obey; that some should do more work, but receive less of the good things of life than others. The religious leaders said that it was the will of the gods that this condition existed, and their word was enough to convince the slaves, and the other under privileged people, that justice prevailed. But finally, after another long period of time, when slaves, the dispossessed, and the poor generally, became very numerous, and included many educated and intelligent men, as was the case in ancient Greece, it was found that religion alone was not strong enough or convincing enough to make them believe that their place in society was a just or a proper one; that it was sanctioned by divine order. This was especially true of bold men who were not inclined to fear the gods or the prospects of divine punishment for those who disobeyed the gods' emissaries. Idealist philosophy was then used to aid religion in keeping the poor in subjection, and it was

very effective because it is a soothing, disarming, system of thought which justifies the *present* order of things.

As an ally of religion, Idealism was used to convince the poor that conditions should be as they were. It contended that the existing political-economic-social order was the natural order of things; that not only the gods, but even nature itself intended that there should be rulers and ruled, rich and poor, masters and slaves; therefore such a condition of society was just and proper. It also contended that a demand or desire for a change in this condition was contrary to the laws of nature as well as to the laws of the gods.

All ancient civilization was the result of slavery, an ideology based on the theory—developed over a very long period of time, almost entirely by religious leaders and idealistic philosophers—that "might makes right," and that all things, including human beings, belong to whoever is strong enough to hold them. This theory held that it was just and proper for the strong to rule the weak, and for the rich to enslave the poor. It was developed to its highest extent by idealist philosophers who designed it to rationalize and justify the favored position of property owners who had, by a combination of circumstances which favored them at the time, seized control of things—mainly slaves and land—when tribal society ended. The property owners eventually formed a small ruling class in every nation, and used every available means—but mainly religion and idealistic philosophy—to maintain and strengthen their dominant position within society. They made all the laws, and established all the ethical and moral standards, to suit their own particular interests. People who did not own property—the poor—were not consulted in any of these matters.

Slavery was a very cruel ideology, but it probably was necessary for conscious progress in the ancient world. In any case, all ancient civilization developed and advanced by means of slavery, and it was the only ideology that existed from the time tribal society ended until feudalism was established, a period of several thousand years even in the most advanced areas of the world.

Civilization began with common ownership of land. This common ownership had existed for a great many thousands of years of tribal society in which there was no state, but it ended when the state was

formed. The strong then simply took the land and defended their action with force. In Greece, tribal society began to break up probably about the thirteenth century B. C., and a great social change began to come over the people. A comparatively few families that happened to be strong enough to seize and hold the land then began, gradually and slowly, to make it their personal property. These families, who eventually became the ruling classes, had, by the sixth century B. C., taken practically all of the land, and had founded states in which there were, for the first time among the Greeks themselves, masters and slaves. These states, however, were weakened by internal discord arising from conflicts between landlords and the dispossessed, rich and poor, masters and slaves. (All Greek idealist philosophy was developed and used mainly in efforts to keep these conflicts under control.)

Idealism reinforced the political power structure of the Greek states, and was a very powerful and effective weapon in the hands of the ruling and owning classes of those states. It was especially useful to those classes in dealing with problems arising from land ownership. For examples, it rationalized methods by which owners passed land to their descendants, and showed how to appease the dispossessed and landless generally—people who had no land but felt that they were entitled to some. It was consoling to those in want, and it almost supplanted religion as the chief comforter of the ignorant poor. Today, it is second only to religion in this field.

During the period of tribal society in Greece, justice simply meant custom, that is, what was done by nature (men, animals, trees, rocks, and everything else). But in the struggle between the landowners and the dispossessed, during the break up of tribal society, a new definition of justice was considered, and four questions were raised by the dispossessed, and poor generally, as follows: 1. What is justice? 2. Is matter real? (Matter was believed by some to change; perhaps it was not real.) 3. Is change real? 4. Is justice material equality? To the first of these questions the idealist philosophers answered that justice meant that people should do the thing that they were best fitted by nature to do; that some (the landowners, and the rich generally) were best fitted to rule and some (the dispossessed, slaves, and the poor generally) were best fitted to work; that people should

remain in the classes they were born into; that fate and chance were the dominant factors in justice. These philosophers answered "no" to the other three questions. They especially contended that change is unreal, and therefore impossible; that nothing ever changed. (It followed that people should not desire a change of their place in society, or a more equal distribution of material things, because this would require change, which was impossible.) At this time, materialist philosophers were making their first appearance in history. They disagreed entirely with the conclusions of the idealist philosophers. They said that justice is material equality and that matter and change are the only reals.

CHAPTER II

Greek Idealism

Greek Idealism included both "Dualism" and "subjective Idealism," two different, but related, philosophical systems which have had a tremendous influence in shaping and molding world thought. Both of these systems of thought were very strong intellectual forces all over the civilized world until the later stages of the Renaissance period when subjective Idealism began to lose its influence in Europe, mainly because of the emergence of materialistic philosophy and capitalism. (Subjective Idealism is now very much less influential than Dualism nearly everywhere in the world.)

Dualism is very old, and undoubtedly is one of the two oldest forms of Idealism. It probably had its beginnings when primitive man began to think about his dreams, and especially about what he seemed to do in those dreams. In its early stages, Dualism applied to man only, but as time passed it was extended to other things. However, it was not highly developed or applied to the entire universe until after the state was formed, and society was divided into two different classes (the rulers and the ruled).

Dualism holds that the universe consists of two different parts, soul (mind) and body (matter) and that soul is superior to body. Originally, the part of Dualism which is now considered soul was only a part of man's dream life—the part man used in his dream world—and body was considered the real part of man. (In at least some cases in primitive society the soul was thought to be controlled by the body, and as a consequence the body was held responsible for the "acts" of the soul.) But as thought developed, the idea began to develop that soul is the real part of man. In Greece, for example, during a period when the state was weakened by conflicts between rulers and ruled, and the rulers needed a philosophy that would

justify their dominant position within society, idealist philosophers greatly developed this idea. These philosophers contended that soul is superior to body, and that a great many things, including institutions, organizations, systems, classes, etc., have souls and bodies. They contended that in society, for example, the rulers (owners) were the soul and the ruled (non-owners) were the body. In this way they made the idea of soul a technique for control of society which favored the owning classes, and it became a great force for justifying economic and social inequality. Eventually idealist philosophers and theologians developed the idea that soul is a supernatural entity that includes spirit, "human" personality, consciousness, conscience, mind, thought, the ability to think abstractly, the ability to believe in supernaturalisms, will, reason, intellect, intelligence, etc.; that soul is to man what gods are to the universe. (The word "soul" came from the Greek word "psyche" which originally meant breath or breathing. However, what is now called "soul" was originally the image of himself that primitive man often "saw" in his dreams. Each person was believed to have such an entity, and it was thought to leave the body often during sleep, and permanently at death, but usually to remain near the dead body as a guard. Probably because of this the idea was developed that this entity is immortal, and eventually it was called "spirit" or "ghost." When man began to think of gods as being anthropomorphic, as he did in early Greece, they too were believed to have spirits or ghosts, and the spirit or ghost of the Jewish-Christian God came to be known as the "holy spirit" and the "holy ghost.")

Dualism differs from other forms of Idealism mainly in that it admits that matter exists. It, however, contends that matter is controlled by "spirit" (a supernatural thing) which it holds is outside the field of science. It holds that the mind of man is a "spiritual" thing—a soul, or an aspect of the soul—which man cannot know by any science techniques; that this mind, or soul, connects man with the supernatural and sets him apart from "animals"; that "animals" have no mind or other "spiritual" connection with the supernatural, and therefore are "lower" in the scheme of things than man, and quite different from man. In short, Dualism holds that man has a mind (soul), but that no animal does, therefore, man is superior to

all animals. In this, Dualism is in substantial agreement with nearly all "theological" Idealism and is generally accepted by theologians. ("Theological" Idealism may properly be considered to include most religions, and philosophies of a very strong religious nature.)

Dualism was developed and extended by many of the greatest philosophers of all time, and it was made an important part of Christianity by the early "Church Fathers," who developed it along lines that would suit their own particular needs. They finally held that soul (mind) is good and that body (matter) is bad (evil); that soul is in a constant struggle with body. This particular construction of the theory of Dualism is now very influential throughout the entire Christian world, and is known as the "mind against matter" theory in both philosophy and religion. According to this theory, mind (good) always tries to control body (bad), and usually does. Sometimes, however, mind becomes "poisoned" by the "evil" nature of body and as a consequence suffers temporary reverses.

Subjective Idealism probably had its beginnings in Greece about the fifth century B. C., and is the purest form of Idealism. It holds that mind (soul, spirit, thought, idea, etc.) is the only thing that exists; that matter (body) does not really exist. It holds that "body" and all other things which seem to be composed of matter, or to contain material properties, exist only in our minds; that they are only the results of our imagination; that we only imagine that we see, feel, hear, taste, or smell things. (This philosophical theory is accepted in areas where remnants of feudalistic society still remain, but it has never been as influential as Dualism in capitalistic society. This is due to the fact that capitalistic society is built on material things, and, therefore, cannot use or accept any theory which denies the existence of such things. Sometime during the Middle Ages, when the development of theological Idealism was the chief interest of philosophers, subjective Idealism developed an offshoot which eventually split off from its parent stem. This offshoot is now called "objective" Idealism. However, the chief difference between subjective Idealism and objective Idealism is that the former holds that things exist only in the mind of man, while the latter holds that things exist only in the mind of God. The newer concept strengthens the bond between Idealism and religion, and in this way increases some-

what the value of Idealism as a device for control of ignorant people, but it indicates a developing weakness in "pure" philosophy.)

Greek Idealism was developed to its highest extent by Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, four of the greatest philosophers of all time. Their philosophy was accepted by the ruling (owning) classes in Greece because it helped—as did the philosophy of all other Greek idealists—these classes to hold their property against demands by the poor for a more equal distribution of things. (These demands were being made as a result of the development of materialistic philosophy and the consequent democratic movement in Athens, and they were strongly supported by all progressives.)

Pythagoras was one of the first great philosophers to support Dualism, and he firmly established the idea that soul is good and that body is bad. He held that there must be "law and order" (good) to control "chaos" (bad), and he also held that this "law and order" must be defined, and this control maintained, only by a ruling (owning) class. He defended inequality, especially in political power and material things, and developed a rationale to prove that justice is not the same as equality. He said that the best way to establish justice is to establish a belief in the gods. This was his technique for persuading the poor that change was not desirable, and it was his chief contribution toward control of society. Gods did not change, and they were generally considered the nearest things to perfection; therefore no one should desire change as that would be a retrograde movement—away from perfection.

Pythagoras and his followers the Pythagoreans held that numbers were the real things of the universe; that the universe is made of numbers. And they used this general idea to rationalize the dominant position of the ruling (owning) classes in Greece in a way that was very favorable to those classes. For example, they held that the number "one" is soul, reason, good, ruler, law, order, and other things which they considered worthy or desirable and that the word "many" (a large number of numbers) is body, passion, bad, the ruled (the people generally, but especially the poor), chaos, and other things which they considered unworthy or undesirable. Numbers between "one" and "many" were assigned to other things, many of which obviously were of little or no importance in the class struggle, but in no

case was a number used in a way that would weaken the position of the owning classes or strengthen the position of the non-owning classes.

Pythagoras said that struggle is the law of the universe and that it is between forces (opposites) acting from different levels, one level being higher than (superior to) the other, and that the purpose of the struggle is to eliminate strife and to obtain harmony, by making the forces on the lower level obey the forces on the higher level. (Applied to human relations this is a ruler and ruled, master and slave or subject, idea.) He said that the struggle operates on three parallels as follows: 1. Within the individual, struggle is between soul (one, reason, and good) and body (many, passion and bad). 2. Within the state, struggle is between ruler (one or good) and ruled (many or bad). (Pythagoras was here trying to justify a caste system of society. He contended that nature indicated that the landowners were the rulers, and he considered the landowners were the soul, which, according to his theory, meant ruler, law and order as well as one, reason and good.) 3. Within the universe, struggle is between law (one, order, or good) and chaos (many or bad).

Because of their belief in the importance of numbers in the scheme of things the Pythagoreans greatly developed mathematics, but they held arithmetical progression in low esteem because it seemed to aid those who suggested that property should be more equally distributed. They held that geometrical progression indicated that some were entitled to more of the good things of life than others, and they used it to aid the owning classes. However, they did move toward scientific methods while trying to rationalize inequality, and therefore advanced civilization even though some of their motives were reactionary.

Socrates was one of the first great philosophers to support subjective Idealism, but he also supported Dualism. He did not especially interest himself in the nature of the universe, but he held that matter is not real,—that only the concept (the idea or notion) is real. He held that there is good (right) and bad (wrong or evil), and that man should always do good; that man would always do good if he knew what was good. The problem is to discover what is good. He concluded that knowledge is the only good, and that it is obtained only by reason; that knowledge cannot be obtained by means of the

senses. He constantly used reason in search for knowledge, and in this effort developed deductive and inductive reasoning to a high degree. In this way he aided progress, but this was his chief contribution to the advancement of civilization.

Socrates introduced the "age of faith" into Greece by contending that the existence of God is self-evident, and needs no proof. He said that God is necessary to rule the universe, and held that on earth a permanent ruler (as is God) is the best ruler. He contended that such a ruler (dictator) rules, or should rule, with disinterest and is infallible; that he is always good and always rules in the interest of the ruled; that if he does wrong it must be considered only a diversion which does not count; that when he makes a mistake it is to his disinterest; that mistakes harm a ruler as much as the ruled.

Socrates did not like the democratic government which the democrats established in Athens, and he used his prestige as a great philosopher to weaken it. He constantly pointed out its defects and found fault with its leaders. Because of his great influence, he, in this way, undermined public confidence in Greek democracy, and thereby aided materially in its destruction.

In early life Socrates was a scientist, and possibly also a Sophist or materialist philosopher, but his views changed as he became older. He then joined the elements among the Greeks who were opposing democracy, and spent the later years of his life working in the interest of the owning classes. He then scorned democracy, and favored absolute and permanent dictatorship by a rich ruling class. (All of his students and followers during his later life were members of the owning classes, and he was eventually executed for taking part in a revolt of these classes against the democratic government of Athens.)

Plato was the greatest of all idealist philosophers, and because of this his ideas on the nature of things have had a profound and lasting effect on man. His philosophy was based mainly on Dualism, but he held that only ideas could be considered real; that matter—all things in the world of the senses—must be considered unreal. He said that soul (mind) is idea and that idea exists only as spirit (thought); that senses are only particulars which we cannot ever use to learn, or to know about, anything, and because of this we should turn away from the life of the senses and go forward with the life of reason. He said

that soul, which he held included all knowledge, passes from body to body, as from father to son, in a constant repetition, and that what we know is due to this. He admitted that we do not remember anything about our former bodies, but he considered this unimportant.

Plato said that the function of the soul (mind) is to think, and thus to manage; that the soul harmonizes the various parts of the body; that only the soul moves things; that the soul itself cannot be moved. He may have been the originator of the concept of "soul" as it is now understood, but he admitted that he needed proof of immortality.

In early life Plato contended that the only real is the unchanging; that there is no real change; that change in real things is impossible. (Rulers remain rulers and slaves remain slaves according to this reasoning. Also the rich remain rich and the poor remain poor as a redistribution of things would be impossible since that would involve change.) Late in life Plato conceded that change is real, or at least possible, but he held that in any case it should be controlled by political authority vested in a ruling class.

Plato was opposed to democracy, and was a leader of the reactionary forces which opposed Athenian democracy. He held that those best fitted by nature to rule should always rule; that people are incapable of ruling themselves or of selecting their rulers. He was the chief proponent of the idealistic theory which holds that people should do the thing that they are best fitted by nature to do. (This theory was highly developed during the Renaissance, mainly by Protestant theologians, and was then and later used to justify slavery. It was usually called the "calling concept" theory, and it eventually held that "you should do your duty in that state of life into which it has pleased God to call you." This was generally understood to mean that one should do the same kind of work his father did, and it aided in maintaining social classes in capitalistic society.)

Plato's philosophy was reactionary, but it contained some progressive principles. For examples of these principles, it held that women should have more rights and freedom than the Athenian women had and that the state should interest itself in the care and well being of children. These were very progressive concepts in the time of Plato.

Aristotle was a materialistic idealist, and one of the most influen-

tial philosophers of all time. His philosophy was based mainly on Dualism, and he held that soul (idea or thought) is "form" and that body (matter) is "potentiality." He held that "form" is unchangeable and never moves, but changes all other things for the better by imposing "actuality" (shape and qualities of things) on them and by setting a high standard for them to try to reach. He contended that this was the explanation of everything. For example, he held that a tulip grows and blossoms because "form" is forcing it to try to reach perfection.

Aristotle did not believe that there was a "creator" of the universe, or a "first cause" of any kind. His theory of the universe and its development was as follows: The "absolute" (unknowable mystical principle, pure soul, pure form, or mind) sits at the top of a pyramid-like universe and changes all things below into a higher mode of existence by drawing these things upward—toward the absolute. The absolute does this by thought, and it thinks only about itself, about its own perfection. The absolute never sees, or even thinks about, the process, and its back is turned toward the process. The absolute is the mover, but itself is unmoved. Everything below the absolute is striving to go up—is being pulled up by "pure potentiality" (thinking by the absolute). This "pure potentiality" is pure thought (thinking) and this thought is, and can only be, about thought. It cannot possibly be about anything else.

The bottom layer of Aristotle's pyramid was composed of potentiality (matter without form), the next layer was atoms, then progressively upward in order the principal layers were: rocks, plants, animals, humans, the state (including society), stars, the "soul of the spheres," and pure potentiality at the very top.

Aristotle held that political, economic, social, and religious change should be controlled by the state; that gods do not control or influence change in any way. He held that prayers and sacrifices to gods are worthless, and that there is no evidence that human beings have immortal souls. He contended that man must rely on reason, and that reason must be guided by experience. He aided science in many ways, but mainly by teaching that experience must lead thought and that change is constantly taking place. (These are strong materialistic

concepts and they indicate that Aristotle approached very close to the border of Materialism.)

Soon after the Macedonian conquest of Greece in the fourth century B. C., and when it had become quite clear that the Athenian Greeks were no longer the masters of their destiny and in control of the most advanced and civilized parts of the world, but on the contrary were a conquered people, subject to a foreign domination, which would continue for a long time, idealist philosophers set about to develop a philosophy that would rationalize the new, and altogether different, situation in which these Greeks found themselves. Obviously there was a great and pressing need for a philosophy which would help defeated, frustrated, disgruntled, bewildered, and depressed people, at the beginning mainly Athenians, accept their new condition of life. This need resulted in the rapid development of Cynicism, Stoicism, and Skepticism, idealistic philosophies which contained little or no optimism. These philosophies presented a "static" conception of things, and made no provision for the advancement of humanity, or for progress of any kind. Their effect on thought depended upon the intellectual level of the people they influenced, but in no case was this effect better than conservative and usually it was reactionary.

Cynicism was the first philosophical reaction of Greek idealists to defeat. It is a philosophy of extreme pessimism which holds that death is just as desirable as life; that pleasure and comfort are of no value and should not be sought after. It holds that man should not desire anything and should live as simply as possible; that possessions beyond the barest needs of life are only a burden to man. This philosophy failed because it was too pessimistic to meet the needs of any Greeks, except the few who could and did surrender all hope of an eventual change in conditions, and it was succeeded by Stoicism, a somewhat less pessimistic philosophy.

Stoicism was an offshoot of Cynicism, and was an attempt to devise a philosophy which would not only meet the needs of more of the Greek people than Cynicism could, but would also be less debilitating to the nation generally. It was immediately successful in this, and it met, as nearly as any form of Idealism could, the needs of the times. It practically eliminated the influence of Cynicism, and it be-

came the philosophy of the Greeks during the expanding period of the "universal empire" which Alexander the Great founded.

In order to gain support from the materialists, a large segment of the Greek population that rejected pure Idealism as a valid philosophy for the times, materialistic ideas were included in Stoicism. Because of this Stoicism was a combination of Idealism and Materialism, but its idealist content was much the stronger. However, even though idealistic ideas always dominated Stoicism, its materialistic content was the strongest ever included in any Greek idealistic philosophy.

Stoicism contended that the nature of the world order is rational and follows universal laws; that there is law and order in the universe, and that this is due to and governed by the mind of a supernatural being, a god. It tried to bridge the gap between mind (soul, spirit, idea, etc.) and matter (body), and it held that everything is of a pantheistic god. That is, it held that all things are parts of a god.

Stoicism implied that "one" (ruler, leader, etc.) is good and that "many" (the ruled, which included the masses, the poor, etc.) are bad. It was a philosophy of submission, a sort of fatalism which demanded the acceptance of adversity with extreme patience. It held that all things should be accepted as they are; that man should do his best, but should not strive for things "beyond his reach." It held that man should lower his desires to meet his abilities, rather than to try to satisfy all of his desires. It insisted that man must and should accept the "inevitable"; that he should submit rather than rebel in any and all conditions or circumstances. (This idea, naturally, was accepted by the ruling and owning classes.)

Stoicism held that fate leads the man who is willing, but drags the man who is unwilling; that in any case man must go as fate decrees. (Materialists would substitute the word "history" for "fate," as they contend that it is not by submitting to the unknown, but by understanding and controlling our destiny that we succeed, or at least make the best of our life.) At its end, about the fourth century A. D., Stoicism was the philosophy of the Roman ruling class. In the later Stoic period, ninety-nine per cent of the people in the Roman Empire were not able to solve their destiny. They had no choice but to submit. (The saying, "to take things philosophically" is from Stoicism,

and it is a "submission to fate" idea which all materialistic philosophy rejects.)

The later Stoic philosophers influenced the development of Christianity, and they finally became the "father confessors" to the Roman court to give moral and ethical advice, just as the Christian church leaders did to give religious advice. These philosophers taught a very depressing and demoralizing kind of "escapism" which helped to devitalize Roman Empire society. For example, they taught the rightfulness of suicide as an escape from the hard life of the world.

Zeno, one of the earliest and greatest of the Stoics, suggested that the universe started from "logos" ("the word"). But he also suggested that it started from fire, and said that our sense impressions are a sufficient guide for truth. These ideas were included in Stoicism, and they provided its highest materialistic tendency. (The idea that the universe started from "the word" is very old, and was highly developed by the Jews. Zeno may have got this idea from them, as their writings, mainly those which have come down to us in the Old Testament, clearly imply that the Jews believed that words alone could create or change things. For example, the first chapter of the Old Testament, which is a good authority on early Jewish thought, credits God with creating, or at least with changing, things by using words only. God is credited with simply calling for things to be done, and they are done forthwith apparently without any aid from any other power or agency. That is, God's word alone created or changed things. This idea permeates all Christianity. During the Renaissance it was considered by alchemists, metaphysicians, and others seeking easy ways to change things. It was believed that since God could do great things—cause miracles to happen—with only a word or so, man, God's "chosen creature," should be able to do at least some things of a supernatural nature with words. A search was then made for a word, and combination of words, which when spoken under certain conditions would cause things to happen in a miraculous manner, that is, by supernatural means, contrary to the laws of nature.)

Many of the earlier Stoic philosophers had strong materialistic tendencies, and they aided greatly in keeping materialistic theories alive during the third, second, and first centuries B. C. when Idealism

was destroying all such theories. These philosophers said that the universe was not controlled by a supernatural power, but on the contrary by natural power, that is, by the law of nature. They held that not the laws of gods, but the "laws of things," ruled the universe. They, however, unlike all other philosophers having strong materialistic tendencies, did not have a progressive outlook on life. For example, they said that man ought to live in accordance with nature. (This would require man to abandon at least nearly all conscious progressive effort. Thomas Hobbes, a materialistic philosopher of the Renaissance period, said that if man lived in accordance with nature his life would be poor, solitary, brutal, nasty, and short.)

Skepticism is a philosophy of extreme doubt, and was designed to rationalize the failure of the intelligent and educated Greeks, who had built a great civilization only to see it fall, to solve their destiny. This philosophy denies the possibility of ever knowing reality. It holds that what seems to be knowledge is merely speculation; that actual knowledge of anything is impossible. It was an inevitable, and probably necessary, philosophy of the period of Greek decline. It gave comfort and consolation to people who were forced to accept a crushing defeat, and probably filled, to a small extent, the mental needs of those who realized that they did not understand things well enough to control them. (Skepticism was used by materialistic philosophers during the Renaissance to undermine Roman Church dogma, but because of its extreme doubt it finally lost its value in any progressive field. It doubts everything, including all proved scientific facts!)

CHAPTER III

Influence of Ancient Idealistic Religions on Christianity

Ancient idealistic (mystery) religions and ancient idealistic philosophies came from the same source, and were invented and used for the same purpose—for control of society. Actually, these religions and philosophies were so closely related that no exact dividing line can be drawn between them. However, the religions were divided into "this world" cults (those which considered life in this world more important than life in the next one) and "next world" cults (those which considered life in the next world more important than life in this one), and the former were more like philosophies than were the latter. All of these religions—even those that contained the most fantastic and mysterious theories of supernatural forces or beings—aided man. They helped him to survive in an antagonistic environment—and in some cases to solve his destiny. In this way these religions, the immediate successors of magic, helped civilization to advance. But beyond reasonable doubt the "this world" religions always were the most progressive, and led the advance.

The chief difference between these religions was in their supernatural content. In the "this world" religions this content was somewhat crude and undeveloped. It was weaker, and more of a magical nature, than it was in the "next world" religions, therefore was simpler and easier to understand. Because of this, man had a tendency to use the supernatural forces of the "this world" religions to meet his immediate needs—to help him control his environment—and in general to aid him in the affairs of this world. (Probably most of the "this world" religions should be considered magical systems rather than religious systems, as they had a strong tendency to develop the belief that man could compel supernatural forces to aid him, and did not have to beg these forces for help. In any case the "this world"

religious systems were based on ideas of things of this world rather than on things of a "next world." And even though they operated on the principle of supernatural intervention in the affairs of men they were more applicable to political, economic, and social movements than to religion.)

The "this world" religions always were protest (revolutionary, and usually "underground") cults and the "next world" religions usually were state cults (those sponsored by the government). However, at least nearly all of the "next world" cults began as "this world" cults, and later, because of political and economic pressure, changed their position. The "this world" cults which did not make this change usually were destroyed by the government, their leaders being executed. Probably many thousands of men lost their lives in this way. (There have been clearly identified, by the scientific method of historical research, many leaders of ancient mystery religions who were executed by the state. All of these leaders were considered, by their followers, to have been of supernatural origin, to have possessed supernatural powers, and to have come to the world to save people.)

The membership of the mystery religions was divided on political and social lines, the state cults containing the "rightists" and the protests cults the "leftists." The politically passive, and submissive, poor formed the mass base of the state cults, but these cults were controlled absolutely by the owning classes, the relatively satisfied elements of the economic-social order. The protest cults, on the other hand, were composed of the nonconformist and revolutionary poor, the dissatisfied elements of the economic-social order, and often were led by "left-wing" zealots.

At least a thousand mystery—both "this world" and "next world" —religions, including of course Judaism, the parent stem of Christianity, flourished or began within the Roman Republic-Empire between the second century B. C. and the third century A. D. All of these religions contained idealistic philosophy and probably all of them influenced, at least to some extent, the beliefs, rites, doctrines, etc., of Christianity. One of them—the Dionysus (wine-god) cult—had an especially strong influence on the development of the social aspects of Christianity, and another—the Ophite (snake-like) cult—probably influenced the development of the metaphysical and super-

natural aspects of Christianity more than any of the others, except Judaism.

The Dionysus cult was a "this world" religion which developed mainly in Greece, but because it opened its membership to slaves—and was the only religion that did this before Christianity did—it finally spread over all of the Greek and Roman world. This was mainly a cult of the uneducated masses, and it probably had the largest membership of any religion in Europe at the beginning of the Christian era, but its philosophy—a primitive form of theological Idealism—was little above the level of magic. (In its later stages this cult adopted many of the aspects of the "next world" religions.)

The most important thing about the Dionysus cult, as far as society was concerned, was that it gave its members a very strong feeling of brotherhood. This cult had strong social aspects, such for examples as meetings for group feasting—eating and drinking, often to excess, in "pagan" revels—which provided opportunities for the poor to get together for social intercourse. These meetings had great influence on the people in the lower levels of the economic-social order, and they had a strong tendency to bind people together in companionship. (The important thing in tribal society was to be born into, or initiated into, the clan, as the clan gave its members a feeling of brotherhood and security. But when the state displaced the tribe, the brotherhood of the clan disappeared, and an economic arrangement arose between rulers and ruled. Initiations into the real clan then ended, and initiations into a mystical clan began. These new initiations helped the people to regain to some extent the feeling of brotherhood that they had lost when the tribe was broken up. This is the sociology of the Christian sacraments, and it was the base from which the earliest Christian movement began.)

Once each year the Dionysus cult held a great initiation ceremony that included a wine revel during which all members and prospective members became intoxicated. They then ate what was supposed to be the flesh and blood of the wine god Dionysus, but actually they ate an animal, which undoubtedly in the early stages of the cult was the totem animal of the tribe that originated this religion. They would tear the animal limb from limb while it was still alive, then eat it raw and drink its blood. This was a very savage ceremony, that did not end

until all participants were practically covered with, or bathed in, blood. (During the last stages of this cult, and when it was being displaced by Christianity, small animals, often lambs, were used in the blood bath-feast rites. Because of this circumstance there is reason for believing that the words of a Christian hymn, "Wash me in the blood of the lamb," stem from this ceremony. And in any case this cult had such a profound effect on Christianity that even now the pagan god Dionysus is worshiped by many millions of Christians as St. Dionysius.) All new members were initiated into the cult in this way, and the blood bath (baptism) rite was considered a re-birth. The young men of the tribe coming to manhood were considered as dying as children and being re-born as men, the baptism in blood being the sacrament in which they entered a new life. (The "blood-feast" rite in this ceremony was the outgrowth of a very ancient idea, and it survives in the communion service of modern Christianity. It probably originated when primitive man first noticed that the people who ate large, powerful, intelligent animals were usually stronger or more clever than those who ate small, weak, and relatively less intelligent animals. From this observation man concluded that he acquired the powers of the things he ate, and this reasoning finally culminated in the "Last Supper" idea. The apostles probably expected to acquire the power of Jesus, and the gospels indicate that they did, at least to some extent. To continue this succession of powers the apostles should have been eaten, figuratively of course, by others and so on. The reasoning in this matter was defective as it failed to take into consideration the fact that in ancient times only strong or clever men could be expected to hunt large, powerful, intelligent animals.)

The Dionysus cult was the chief hope of the poor for justice, and was strongly supported by these people until about the second century A. D. when its most popular, and socially advantageous, customs were absorbed into Christianity. As a result of this circumstance the Dionysus cult was displaced by Christianity as the most popular cult of the poor and lower classes generally. (The customs of the older cult, which the new cult absorbed, are now integral parts of Christianity, but many of them have been changed or modified

to suit the requirements of changing conditions over a long period of time.)

The Ophite cult was a "next world" religion which was in Syria in the first century B.C., and survived in the Near East at least until the second century A.D. This cult was mainly one of highly educated, upper class, thinkers who had the leisure and inclination to consider and develop exceedingly complex theological and metaphysical problems of a very strong supernatural nature far beyond those involved in Judaism or in any other religion of the period, except possibly Hinduism. The philosophy of this cult was one of the purest, and most highly developed, forms of theological Idealism of which there is any record. The hierarchal system of this cult, from the top (senior) downward, was as follows:

1. God-of-the-depth (supreme god or unknowable father). This god, a snake-like deity, came from "the depth," and was the first of all gods. (This idea may have been due to the fact that in ancient times some thinkers believed that everything first came from water, and the snake was the personification of the watery element in nature. The ancient Greeks considered the snake evidence of immortality, and this reptile is still included in the beliefs, rites, etc., of many religious sects.) This god produced:

2. Infinite Light (thought). This was considered the first man, but it was not a real man. It was only the idea of man. It produced:

3. Second Light (son of man or "second" man). Second Light is the same as Infinite Light, and has no existence apart from Infinite Light. (This is a father-son idea in which the father and the son are the same person.) Second Light produced:

4. First Woman. She, however, was not a real woman, but was only the idea of woman. Second Light shed light on her and she produced:

5. Christos (incorruptible light).

6. Sophia (a female deity, the personification of wisdom and probably the "mother of all"). She was produced when some light shed by Second Light overflowed from Christos. (Sophia was similar to the chief goddess, usually a virgin who could produce divine offspring, of many ancient peoples. The idea that Mary, the mother

of Jesus, is the mother of God probably stems from Sophia and First Woman.)

7. The Ialdabaothf (a demiurge, the God of the Jews). He is the first born and senior of the seven sons of Sophia, and probably is a magical emanation of the supreme god. He was produced when some light, shed by Second Light, fell on matter, and he made the universe, including man, by frowning. He also introduced intelligence, in the form of a serpent, into the universe by frowning.

The Ophite cult was a Gnostic religion, probably of Hindu origin. (There is a close resemblance between Christos of the Ophites, Krishna of the Hindus, and Christ of the Christians. The word "gnostic" meant knowledge, but "knowledge," as understood by the Gnostics, only meant understanding the mysteries of mystery religions. This kind of knowledge was very important to the Gnostics. For example, if a member of the Ophite cult knew all about the Ophite mysteries he could get into heaven. The agnostics of the period were those who admitted that they did not understand the mysteries in the Gnostic religions.)

The Ophite theory of a hierarchy of supernatural beings, many of which preceded, and are senior to, the God of the Jews provides what probably is the best explanation, from the standpoint of logic or reason, for the suffering of the innocent under the ever watchful eye of an all-loving and all-knowing God. The theory indicates that the Jewish-Christian-Mohammedan God has superiors who may control His actions; therefore He may not be all-powerful, even though He may be all-loving and all-knowing.

The state cults always tried to destroy the political, economic, and social theories of the protest cults, and often did, but some of these theories were hard to destroy. In such cases they often enabled the cults which held them to withstand great pressure, and ultimately to gain strength. If these cults became very strong, however, they usually became state cults—and then lost their protest (revolutionary) character. (A protest cult always became a state cult if it became strong enough, as Christianity did in the Roman Empire. Before Christianity became the Roman state cult, the Roman government maintained an exceptionally tolerant attitude

toward all religions. All that it required of any cult was that its members burn a pinch of incense before the image of the emperor. This official attitude, quite unusual until modern times, toward conflicting religions within the state, was due to the fact that Roman political power expanded faster than Roman society could assimilate, or change the thinking of, the nations and tribes that were overrun. Political expediency then demanded that friendly relations be maintained between the Roman state and the religious leaders of the subdued peoples. But after the Roman Empire ceased to expand and began to contract and weaken under pressure from powerful enemies, differences between the many religions within its borders hampered defense. Because of this it was considered necessary to try to consolidate all religions into one religion so that there could be no strife between different cults. One religion with one god was also desirable to help justify one empire and one emperor. At the time when necessity forced the Romans to choose a state religion, Christianity was the strongest cult in the empire, and because of this it was made the official state cult. The government then prosecuted and broke up all the other cults. Parts of these other cults were then absorbed into Christianity—a fact which is primarily responsible for the mystery in the modern form of this religion—and a determined effort was made to stamp out the remaining parts, but this drastic action did not save the Roman Empire. On the contrary, it weakened that Empire, and paved the way for its downfall. However, the establishment of Christianity as the only state religion greatly strengthened the political power of the Christian religious leaders. It did this to such an extent that soon afterwards they were able to control the actions of the political leaders wherever Christianity became the dominant religion. Eventually these religious leaders actually assumed control of all political, economic, and social matters practically everywhere in Europe, and also in important parts of Asia and Africa.)

CHAPTER IV

Influence of Idealism on Christianity

Roman Republic-Empire society was based on slavery, and in order to exist it had to have a continuous supply of cheap slaves. Such slaves, however, could only be obtained in areas where there were many people suitable for slavery, therefore, Rome had to expand toward those areas, or decline and finally cease to function as a unified political entity. Because of this situation an expansionist, imperialistic, political policy was constantly followed, during the entire period of Roman advance, so that people could be captured and made slaves. But the execution of this policy was badly disrupted by civil wars in the first century B. C., and a climax came in 9 A. D. when the destruction of two Roman legions in Germany made impossible any further expansion into the slave producing areas. The Romans then adopted a general policy of defense in place of their former policy of expansionist offense. Thus the date 9 A. D. is a great turning point in history, as it marks the end of Roman expansion toward heavily populated areas, and also the beginning of the change from slave society to feudal society. (Some Roman expansion did continue for many years, but not toward areas where many slaves could be obtained.)

Because Roman expansion toward the slave producing areas ended and slaves could no longer be captured in large numbers, they became costly. Commodity (trading or money) production and slave mercantilism than declined, because there was not enough cheap labor. Decentralization and deterioration within the empire then began, and self-supporting agriculture developed. Taxes then had to be paid in kind by the peasantry. That is, the rulers of provinces were no longer paid by Rome, and were thus forced to collect their salaries direct from the local peasantry. Rome then began to decline

rapidly. As a result of this situation the feudal system and the "feudal age" began to evolve.

As this situation developed, each Roman army—in Gaul, Britain, Greece, Syria, Egypt, etc.—became practically self-sustaining, and each strove to put a man of its own choice on the throne at Rome. The decline in empire caused a tremendous economic depression, which in turn caused a rising trend in the class conflicts between rich and poor. Life for the very great majority of the people then became most difficult. The poor finally became convinced that there was little or no hope of securing relief in this world, and many actually believed that the world was coming to an end. This situation caused Stoic philosophy and "mystery" religions, especially those involving a "next world," to develop. This was the state of society throughout the Roman Empire when Christianity began, and Christianity finally became the chief "next world" religion. However, Christianity began as a "this world" religion (a protest cult), when a group of poor Jews proposed a clan of all people. It was a protest, a denunciation of the way of the rich (owning classes) by the poor. A universal brotherhood was to be established by re-birth into a new clan by an initiation ceremony in which baptism was to be the chief rite.

Judaism, from which Christianity got its most important early theology and leaders, began as the "Way of Yahweh," or custom of the more backward people of the hills, as a protest against the more advanced people of the plains who were pushing the hill people farther back into the hills. The "Way of Yahweh" finally came to mean justice, or the right way, or righteousness of the people. The hill people were constantly looking for a "redeemer" who would save them from exploiters. (Redeemer then meant someone like the leader in an old Jewish fable who bought back a man who had been sold into slavery.) Jesus, no doubt, was accepted by many of the poor Jews as the redeemer.

Longing for clan solidarity by people of the non-Jewish mystery religions was, in the first century A. D., blended with the longing of the poor Jews for a redeemer. This combination then blended with a protest (revolt) movement of all the lower classes who desired a better life on earth, and thus formed the Christian cult. (This

movement while comparatively small and limited to Palestine while Jesus was alive, probably was the most revolutionary and progressive movement ever launched within the frame-work or "orbit" of the Roman Republic-Empire political system during its very long existence.) This cult demanded justice and security, and in the first stage of the movement it insisted that only the poor should rule. Jesus and his chief assistants were very poor. None of them owned anything but the clothing they wore, and whatever else they got they shared in common. They preached and practiced socialistic principles ages before socialistic society was to emerge as a practical way of life, and therefore were far ahead of their time. Their work was confined almost entirely to aiding the sick, the hungry, and the poor generally. But as has often been the fate of those who try to introduce changes into society that tend to help the poor, they were attacked with great violence and malice by the rich and the priesthood of the period. Jesus apparently never expected any other "reward" from the ruling classes than that which he finally received—torture and death. (The basic principles of the struggle in society are the same today as they were in the time of Jesus, but the methods of persecution and repression of progressive minded people have become much more subtle and clever.)

The Christian Church, which had its beginnings with Jesus and his earliest followers, was based on democratic principles of a strong socialistic nature, and was the most democratic institution in the world during its early period. The priests and all others connected with the operation of the Church or the care of its property were selected by, and were responsible to, the congregations. All of the Church property, as well as most other property belonging to Church members, was commonly owned. (This situation, however, gradually changed, and by the fifth century the priests had obtained full control of all Church property and had devised a system of succession by which they perpetuated their class in office. That is, they established an autocracy—a dictatorship of their class. The Church then lost its democratic character, and the congregations became merely submissive followers of a firmly intrenched priesthood. Laymen then were allowed no voice whatever in Church affairs. They were deprived of their previous rights and were assigned

duties, their chief duty being to support a very demanding and ar rogant priest class. They were conditioned to accept this duty by enforced belief in very complicated and mysterious doctrines concerning supernaturalisms which they could not understand. These doctrines were based entirely on faith in supernatural intervention in the affairs of human beings, and the laymen were forced to believe them under threat of severe punishment to doubters. The priests then began to take over political power from the temporal rulers, and eventually made themselves masters of the state.)

There were two different conceptions of early Christianity, and at least two different drafts of the Scriptures. At the beginning the philosophy of the Christian cult and movement was the most progressive form of Idealism of which there is any record. Unlike any other form of Idealism it was entirely anti-rich and pro-poor, and it was built mainly on attacks (revolts, demonstrations, protests, etc.) by the poor against the rich. This philosophy is clearly revealed in the gospel according to Luke, an early draft of the Scriptures which in all probability contains the best report of the first conception of Christianity that has come down through the ages to us. This progressive philosophy, however, was soon diluted by a very reactionary idealist philosophy which in the first century A. D. had great influence throughout the Near East, and it gradually lost its progressiveness. A new conception of Christianity was then introduced, and it is best preserved in the gospel according to Matthew, a draft of the Scriptures which contains little or no progressive philosophy. Beyond reasonable doubt the change in the philosophy of the Christian movement was an effort to lessen the pressure on the movement from the rich and the priesthood, and to curry favor with the rich whose support some of the later converts to Christianity desired.

Luke was written for lower class, but mainly the very poor, Gentiles while Matthew was written for all Jews. The Luke version promised food for the poor, and made a violent attack on the rich. In the story of Lazarus, for example, a rich man was sent to hell solely because he was rich. (There is no evidence that this rich man was guilty of any other "sin.") At the time the Luke version was conceived one had to give up absolutely all riches to get into

heaven. That version says "But woe unto you that are rich! for ye have received your consolation." "Blessed be ye poor: for yours is the kingdom of God." "Blessed are ye that hunger now: for ye shall be filled" (obviously with food as the word "filled" in this sentence is a free translation of a Greek word which meant "bellyful"). But the Matthew version says "Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled" (apparently with righteousness only). Neither food nor anything else of a material nature is promised to the poor in Matthew, but the "poor in spirit" and the "meek" are blessed, probably to comfort the poor with words only, and to prevent revolts against the rich. When the Matthew version was conceived it was no longer absolutely necessary to be poor to get into heaven. At that time it was necessary to give all that one had to the poor *only* if one wished to be *perfect.* This was an important modification of the Christian doctrine in favor of the rich. The ethics of Christianity had changed, and class religion and the ethic of submission are involved in the change. The ethic of revolt had given way somewhat to the ethic of submission, even at this very early date. In short, the early revolutionary and progressive conception of Christianity gave way to a conception involving submission to, and compromise with, the opponents of material relief for the poor. (By championing the cause of the lowly and poor generally the first Christians launched a movement that was to help undermine the slave economy of the Roman Empire, but later Christians, under the influence of reactionary Idealism which supported the slave system, justified slavery in order to curry favor with slave owners.)

Christianity developed in four stages. The first idea was that Jesus would return immediately and establish a kingdom of this world with himself as king. The ethic of this stage was revolt. (Christian revolt events—clashes with the authorities—have been generally eliminated from Christian literature, but the story of Peter defending Jesus against a group, led by a priest, by striking violently with a sword and wounding a member of the group, has remained because it was too deeply rooted within Christian tradition and literature to be entirely removed by those who wished to weaken or eliminate the idea that the first Christian doctrine was a philosophy

of rebels, who revolted in a violent manner against the established economic, social, and religious order of their time. A Jewish nationalistic movement, of a purely political nature, aided the Christian revolt to some extent, but the chief revolutionary forces which Jesus led were the poor whose primary interests were economic. And according to the New Testament, the best source of information on the early Christian movement, Jesus talked much more about economic and social matters than he did about anything else.)

Jesus probably was a bold "intellectual" rebel, and almost certainly was the chief leader of the lower classes in their revolt against the rich and the priesthood. All of his philosophy (political, economic, social, and religious) was very progressive for his time and locality. He probably was not a zealot and he probably did not have a martyr complex, as many religious leaders have had. That is, he probably was rational, well balanced mentally, and in every way "normal." (There is, of course, some reason for believing that he had a martyr complex, as apparently he did not make a determined effort to escape death. However, he may not have realized his predicament until escape was impossible.)

The great majority of the people undoubtedly supported Jesus, but the rich and the priesthood, who owned or controlled the economic resources of the area in which he operated, prevented him from receiving the material aid necessary for a successful revolt, and finally turned the "rabble" (thoughtless and unstable, "lunatic fringe" of society) against him. This practically ended the lower class revolt. It failed to overthrow or change the existing order because it lacked material resources. Jesus apparently did not revolt directly against the Roman government, but he probably was executed because his efforts to lessen the burdens of the poor brought him into conflict with that government. (Nearly two thousand "original" manuscripts—New Testaments—that tell of the early Christian movement have been preserved; almost all of them are in Greek, but some are in Aramaic, the language which Jesus and his apostles probably spoke. These manuscripts provide good evidence that a revolutionary movement took place in Palestine in the first century A. D., and that it was led by Jesus; that the movement was progressive until reactionary idealist philosophy led it away from its

original purpose, that of reorganizing society on a more rational basis. However, no two of the original, or early, manuscripts now known to exist that describe this movement are alike, and it is not probable that any of them were written until at least two hundred years after the death of Jesus. Therefore, it is necessary to concede that even though the general causes and results of the movement are known many of the details of it are still shrouded in mystery. But enough about it is known to justify the assumptions that while Jesus was leading it the movement was progressive; that shortly after he died it began to turn reactionary; that its reactionary tendency increased in intensity until the fifth century when the movement had become entirely reactionary.)

When Jesus failed to return immediately to rule, the idea began to develop that his kingdom would be delayed somewhat; that it would be in the comparatively near future rather than immediately. Later it was thought that the kingdom was to be a brotherhood of the Church; a "this world" order, a mystical clan, which could exist within the Roman Empire, but because of the continued absence of Jesus the notion of a kingdom of this world gradually faded, and the notion of a kingdom in the "next world" gained the ascendency. There was to be, in the next world, blessed immortality of peace and good will which the poor could not find in this world. There was to be no work whatever in the next world. (This idea almost certainly was introduced to appeal to slaves, dispossessed, lowly, and the poor generally, people who composed almost the entire body of the early Christian sect, and it was accepted as a cornerstone of Christianity. People who are forced to work hard all of their lives for a bare existence naturally are attracted by the prospect of a future life of happiness in a place where there is no work at all.) Jesus was to come after a thousand years, destroy this "wicked" world, and set up a kingdom in the next world where all Christians would live forever in joy and bliss. The ethic of this stage was submission, and it was necessary because the Christians had no material resources with which to continue the revolt. "Slaves, obey your masters," was a prominent doctrine of this stage. However, the ethic of submission was soon changed—probably because of a final protest by extreme "left-wing" elements

—to one of compromise between submission and protest. Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and render unto God the things that are God's was the principal doctrine of this ethic, but in the compromise, submission was paramount and the protest content was very mild. Finally, because its economic problems could not be solved, Christianity merged with Stoicism, lost all vestiges of protest, and in the fourth century became a state cult. It then organized as a state religion, and in this way not only solved its economic problems, but eventually became very rich. (Constantine, the first Roman emperor to encourage the Christians, tried to make Christianity a cement to bind the Roman Empire together, and this religion adapted itself to the power structure of the Roman state.)

Because of the "kingdom of this world" idea of early Christianity the Roman rulers became alarmed, and they made special efforts to stamp out the cult, but the fear of the rulers was groundless, because the Christians had practically no economic power. When the Christians finally decided definitely that their kingdom was to be in the next world, prosecution and persecution of them ceased.

The Christians soon split into two groups as follows: The Homoousians (those who held that Jesus was of the same nature as God) and the Homoiousians (those who held that Jesus was of like nature, but not of the same nature as God). The Homoiousians themselves were split into three groups as follows: 1. The "right-wing" which taught a likeness of nature between Jesus and God. 2. The "center" (true Homoiousians). 3. The "left-wing" which taught that Jesus was unlike God. Violent disputes and actual military contests between these four groups over a long period of time were so severe that they disrupted the Roman Empire. Because of this Constantine finally tried to settle their differences, and he decided in favor of the Homoousians. He, however, did not recognize this sect as an official state cult, and he was considerate of dissenters. Later, Theodosius the Great made the doctrine of the Homoousians the state religion of the Empire and outlawed all Homoiousianism. The Homoousians then, with state support, began a systematic war of extermination against the Homoiousians, but even so the Homoiousians

(usually called Arians, and by some Pelagians) struggled to maintain their religious and philosophical theories until near the end of the eighth century when the sect was finally stamped out, or driven very deep underground. The philosophy of the losers in this great struggle, which probably cost more lives than any other struggle in all history, contained much less myth, mystery, and superstition, and in general was much less reactionary than the philosophy of the winners. This struggle ended in a very great victory for Idealism, and civilization received a paralysing wound. The Dark Ages, a thousand years of church imposed and state supported superstition and ignorance, were brought about by this struggle, which was only a dispute between purely Christian sects about Christian doctrine. No religion other than Christianity was involved in this struggle. (Homoiousian philosophy was revived in modern times under the name of Unitarianism, and has been accepted by many followers of Jesus, but all orthodox Christians reject it.)

The strength and potency which Christianity eventually developed was due mainly to the fact that it contains the greatest diversity of philosophical ideas of any religion, and also because its doctrine was designed for all peoples and all times. The Christian leaders, during the first five centuries of the Christian era, drew upon all the religions of the then known world, from the primitive cults of Britain, Gaul, and Germany, to the highly developed cults of Egypt and India, for religious and philosophical ideas. This was not a difficult task, as nearly all of these cults operated side by side with Christianity within the Roman Empire until about the end of the fourth century. As a result, all the useful philosophical ideas contained in all the well known religions that flourished immediately before and after Christianity began were absorbed into early Christianity. This circumstance simplified, and greatly aided, early Christian missionary work, for finally there was hardly a nation or tribe within the Roman Empire which could not be shown that at least parts of its religion and philosophy were contained within the Christian religion. In short, Christianity took over and adapted to its use a great many of the philosophical ideas of many ancient religions. It probably did this because the Roman Empire was in decay, and there was no chance for progressive thought or action; no chance

for the masses to better their condition of life in this world. As times got worse the influence and power of the Christian religious leaders increased, and secular power decreased. This caused people to lose confidence in the state and the temporal world in general, and to turn to religion for guidance and consolation. Finally practically everyone, on the advice of the religious leaders, gave up all hope for a better life on earth, and accepted as an alternative a promise from these leaders of a better life beyond the grave. Human nature was at this time considered by the "Church Fathers," whose influence was then very great, to be utterly corrupt, helpless, and powerless. Plotinus and Augustine, the greatest idealists of the period, summed up the situation best. Their philosophy and outlook on life was of the deepest pessimism, and it had a paralysing effect on all human effort. Both of these idealists considered the position of humanity to be utterly and absolutely hopeless, as far as this world was concerned.

During this period, mainly the third, fourth, and fifth cenutries, the Roman Empire was breaking up, and Roman law and order were giving way to anarchy. This forced families to band together and set up small local governments, virtually independent of and unknown to Rome, for their own survival and protection. This was a period of "every man for himself" in the best meaning of the term, and survival often depended on family connections. The strong families had the best chance. Groups of families strong enough to take over and hold abandoned Roman government strong points, castles, etc., usually became leaders in their areas. All the others—the very great majority—became serfs, people on the bottom of the social structure, a position from which there was no escape. In this way the feudal system began to crystalize. From the point of view of the leaders of this period a philosophy was needed to rationalize and justify this new order, and to mold it into one harmonious whole. This need was met by Plotinus, who developed Neoplatonism, a pure form of Idealism, admirably suited to the needs of those who seized property by force.

Neoplatonism was a combination of the theories of Plato, Jewish mythology, and an oriental mysticism somewhat like Buddhism. It was of a strong politico-religious nature, and it not only rationalized

the new order of things, but also had a profound and lasting effect on Christian doctrine. It held that man is of two worlds, the world of God (unknowable absolute or "external intelligence") and the world of emperor, but is so low he can never directly reach either God or emperor. It contended that all power and reality flows from God, by means of emanations of "grace," through emperor, king, baron, knight, etc., down to the lowest serf (or slave); that God is very high up, and far away from humans, but operates and controls everything; that grace is "piped" down through emperor, king, etc., in progressively decreasing amounts, to man; that man can know God only by "ecstasy" (mystical intuition), and cannot possibly know Him by reason or thought. ("Ecstasy" meant standing completely outside one's self, as in a trance, and there was absolutely no thinking or reasoning at all involved in it—just standing.) In other words, Neoplatonism held that man actually *can* know God by *not* thinking, and cannot possibly know Him by any other technique!

Neoplatonism was one of the most reactionary and paralysing of all the idealist philosophies. It not only denied that anything could be known by means of the senses, but also actually denied that anything could be known even by thought (thinking). It was thus a "world denying" philosophy, but it supported, and was strongly reflected in, the power structure of the state. Its chief effects were to strengthen the position of the leaders in feudal society and to consolidate feudalism, just before the beginning of the Dark Ages, but it also paved the way for the Idealism of Augustine, an even more reactionary philosophy. (Neoplatonism finally blended with Christianity to form the Roman Catholic Church, and this Church finally became the cement which bound feudal society together. Philosophical ideas such as those contained in Neoplatonism, and the Augustinian philosophy which followed it, make their appearances in times of crises. They represent mainly the point of view of "escapists," that is, of people who want to "get away from it all.")

CHAPTER V

Idealism of the Dark Ages

The Dark Ages, sometimes properly called the "age of faith," are unparalleled in history for enforced compulsory ignorance and superstition. This was the most benighted period of the Christian era, and humanity was degraded to the lowest level ever reached in this era. During almost the entire period of the Dark Ages, about a thousand years, every field of thought—political, economic, social, and religious—was conditioned, and controlled absolutely, by extremely reactionary theological Idealism, mainly Augustinian philosophy. This kind of Idealism was accepted by the people whether they wanted it or not. Those who did not willingly accept it had it forced on them by political and economic pressure. Torture and death were often the penalties for those who would not accept this philosophy.

Augustinian philosophy was the worst—most reactionary and paralysing—form of Idealism ever developed, and it became the Christian doctrine of the Dark Ages because the "Church Fathers" prepared the way for it. These religious leaders did this by rejecting the progressive Idealism of Jesus and accepting reactionary Idealism, mainly developed from the ancient mystery religions, as the philosophy of Christianity.

By the time the Dark Ages began, reactionary Idealism had robbed the Christian movement of the last traces of its original progressive character and had made it the tool of a highly organized —and extremely autocratic—authority which was determined to prevent change at all costs. This kind of Idealism destroyed, or drove very deep underground, all materialistic philosophy of every kind, and eliminated the progressive tendencies from all other idealist philosophy everywhere in the Christian world. In this way, reactionary Idealism paralysed civilization, as its influence prevented progres-

sive action. Actually, very little progressive action was attempted or even considered, as it always brought swift and severe repressive counter-action—usually imprisonment, torture, and death—against anyone who tried it. Even those suspected of holding progressive thoughts were often burned at the stake. (Because this form of Idealism was the only philosophy allowed by any authority, this extremely reactionary situation in the field of thought remained practically unchanged within all areas dominated by Christians until the Renaissance. All other philosophy was abolished and forbidden by law throughout the Christian world in the early part of the sixth century, and this situation was not appreciably altered until the Protestants changed it by military force.)

Augustine, the founder of Augustinian philosophy, was the greatest philosopher of his time, the most influential of the "Church Fathers," and the chief philosopher of Christianity at the beginning of the Dark Ages. He said that man should turn away from this world, and move toward God; that man cannot accomplish anything by himself; that only through God can man do anything. (Augustinian Roman Catholics believe that this is still true. They deny that anything can be done without the help of God.) The God of Augustine, however, was exceedingly cruel and, therefore, quite different from the kind, loving, and forgiving God described by Jesus. (Augustine, who was originally a member of a pagan cult that had a highly developed system of mysterious beliefs, led the Christians away from the religion of the first Christians to the religion of pagans. Under his leadership and influence Christianity became mainly a combination of many pagan mystery religions, and it remained in this state until the Renaissance, when the religion of Jesus was revived in it by the Protestants.)

Augustine held that God is a terrible, unknowable, being who has "absolute will"; that what God wills "is" and what God does not will "is not." He held that God not only willed the entire universe into existence out of absolutely nothing, but also willed time and space into existence. He believed that all human beings were bad and, therefore, ought to be damned; that God saved some people only because it pleased Him to do so, and not because any of them deserved to be saved; that even the most penitent were not entitled

to forgiveness or consideration of any kind; that those who were not saved had no cause for complaint, as the others were merely fortunate in having been chosen by God to be saved.

Augustine developed a theory that all people are "born in sin," and made it the chief dogma of Christianity. This theory, generally called the "original sin" doctrine, holds that because of a sin committed by Adam, all people are guilty when born. (A peculiarity of this theory, which has always engaged the attention of theological philosophers, is that it holds that God predestined Adam to sin; therefore Adam could not have avoided sinning! That is, Adam had to sin because God made him so that he would sin!) The fact that this theory held that all babies are actually guilty of a sin the very moment they are born, and certainly would be sent to hell where they would suffer horrible tortures forever, unless they joined the Christian Church, an act which in many cases is impossible, had a very depressing effect on humanity. But even so this theory formed the base of all theological Idealism during the Dark Ages, and because it held that God made babies and sent them to horrible torture solely because it pleased Him to do so, it had a tendency to make people think of God as being sadistic. (The theory was disconcerting, even to devout believers, because it conceded that an "all-powerful" God, who could easily have saved all babies from torture in the hereafter, would not even spare the innocent little babies of peoples who could never hear of Christianity. All of them were doomed to hell, and eventually sent there, without ever knowing anything about the cause of their cruel fate. Many centuries after Augustine the Church announced that small unbaptised babies would go to "limbo," a place where they would not suffer, instead of to hell, and in this way relieved the situation somewhat.) However, the people were forced to accept this theory, and it exerted a strong influence on all Christian thinking. It still greatly influences all Christianity.

Augustine held that the people in the Christian Church were those predestined to be saved, and that all others were predestined to be sent to everlasting torture in hell, which the Christian leaders had developed. This theory, which was a strong part of the earliest form of Augustinian philosophy, increased Church membership, because

people began to fear the Christian hell, but could not be certain to escape it unless they were Church members. (This theory, however, was defective in that it did not contain a device for control of society in all situations, a necessary element for the survival of a religious theory, and because of this it soon had to be modified. Its defect was that it did not provide for control of people after they joined the Church. Most, if not all, of these people undoubtedly felt that because they were in the Church nothing could prevent them from getting into heaven, therefore it was not necessary to obey priests, if obedience could be avoided without injury in this world. This situation was practically corrected by the invention of the theory of a "purgatory" for those who "sinned" after they joined the Church. The purgatory theory conceded that every Church member could get into heaven, but it held that almost everyone would first have to be prepared for heaven by spending some time in purgatory, an unpleasant place. The length of this time depended largely on the amount of money that was paid to the Church, and this condition gave the priests rigid control over laymen. This theory has been developed over a long period of time, and is now the most effective device by which the Roman Catholic Church controls its members. It is now used mainly for economic purposes—to obtain funds.)

The ideology of the Dark Ages was feudalism and was based on dispensation of things from a supernatural source through a "God appointed" agent— a theory that must be considered the logical conclusion to which at least nearly all idealistic philosophy inevitably leads. This ideology held that the earth and all things in it, including political, economic, social, and religious power, originally belonged to God, who gave them to the pope, who was chosen by God. The pope retained some of these things, but lent the rest to the emperor, who was chosen by the pope, with the distinct understanding that they would be withdrawn at the pleasure of the pope. The emperor, in turn, lent most of what he received to kings, with the same understanding as that between the pope and the emperor, and this process was continued all the way down, through many lesser rulers, to the serfs, the great mass of the people on the bottom of the feudal structure, who got very little of anything. Some people, mainly kings and their close associates, believed that the pope had only religious power,

and that God dealt directly with the emperor in all other matters, but others, including the pope and his close associates, denounced this belief as very sinful heresy. (In the later stages of the feudal period many people contended that the pope was not the chief agent of God in any matter, and this circumstance gave rise to the idea of "divine right of kings," a very progressive idea until almost the end of this period.)

The philosophy of feudalism and that of Christianity were identical during the Dark Ages, and because of this the Roman Church gained in strength and prestige with the rise of feudalism. The Church reached its highest peak in political power during the eleventh century because it took advantage of the widely held belief, which it fostered, that the world would end in the year 1000. During the tenth century the Church, which controlled all sources of public information, counseled the people to give their worldly possessions to the Church. It held that since the entire world would soon be destroyed, there was no reason why anyone should try to retain possession of any property. It also taught that the Lord Jesus was coming when the world ended, and would be pleased with the people who had given the Church their property. As a consequence of this teaching the Christianized people in western Europe gave their possessions to the Church.

In connection with the theory that the Lord was coming, the Roman Church built many massive, fort-like cathedrals, monasteries, etc., and indicated that the Lord would be pleased to see these mighty monuments testifying to the religious zeal of the people. As the hour approached when the world was to end, the people put on "ascension robes" and climbed to hill tops and there awaited the Lord, who was to come to take all good people to heaven.

When the Lord failed to arrive the people were confused, as they had utmost faith, trust, and belief in Church teachings. However, doubt finally overcame them, and they came down from the hills and tried to recover their property. But the Church leaders, safe behind the walls of the cathedrals, etc., were prepared for such an eventuality, and they made terms favorable to themselves as to this property. They eventually returned some of it to the original owners, but retained ownership or control of the greater part, and thereby strength-

ened their political and economic position. Mainly in this way the Roman Church became strong enough to assert its supremacy over the other Christian churches, and finally to break away from those in eastern Europe, Asia, and Africa. But the great economic fraud, which the Roman Church perpetrated, made it many unforgiving enemies, and this circumstance forced it to adopt an attitude of defense against secular power. And even though its newly acquired economic strength made it very powerful, the Church was forced to maintain huge armies and to fight many wars to ensure its supremacy over secular power. However, it was generally successful in maintaining this supremacy until the Reformation, more than five hundred years later.

It is reasonably certain that during the eleventh and twelfth centuries the Roman Church owned or controlled at least seventy-five per cent of all the property in that part of western Europe which was then Christianized. Ever since then the chief struggle in Europe, all the way down to the present time, has been between the people and the Church. The people have been striving to regain their property and the Church has been striving to hold what it gained, mainly before the eleventh century.

The "age of doubt," the period which produced the thinkers who brought about and led the Renaissance, began with the failure of the prediction by the Roman Church leaders that the world would soon end. That failure produced skepticism among believers in all walks of life, from the highest to the lowest, and these people began to question Church authority, dogmas, and doctrines. Doubt as to the knowledge, and even the sincerity, of the Church leaders began to develop. This doubt finally weakened Church influence and brought about the Renaissance, the intellectual movement which included the Reformation. (Protestantism probably owes its existence to the actions of the Roman Church during the tenth and eleventh centuries, but because those actions tend to invite distrust of all organized dogmatic religions they have never been publicized, even by Protestants.)

The Crusades probably delayed the arrival of the Renaissance, as their immediate effect was to strengthen the Church. However, their final result weakened the Church, and thereby assured the suc-

cess of the Renaissance when it did arrive. The Crusades added many more thinkers to the already developing "age of doubt" and thereby strengthened the position of all those who dared to doubt Church imposed dogmas, doctrines, and superstitions. Many Christians who came into contact with the Mohammedans, nearly all of whom were Arabs, during the Crusades, became skeptical and doubtful of the ethics of the Church leaders. Some of the most devout Crusaders, including the Knights Templars, began to feel that the Mohammedans were in advance of the Christians in many phases of life, including ethics, morals, education, science (especially medicine, mathematics, astronomy, chemistry, agriculture, architecture, and engineering). In this situation the Church was at a disadvantage because all of the doubters not only were within the Church itself but for the most part, at least, were the ablest men of Christendom. Also these men were difficult to locate and eliminate, as they were generally discreet and sometimes did not reveal their thoughts about their Church or its leaders even to their closest friends and companions. Another thing that weakened the Church in this period was that it made the serious mistake of teaching that God would indicate whom He favored by the result of the Crusades. It claimed that God would be on the side that held the Holy Land when those religious wars—almost entirely military invasions of Mohammedan lands by Christians—ended. The fact that the Mohammedans held all of the Holy Land when the Crusades finally ended forced the Church into a vulnerable position when the question arose as to who had God's favor, the Christians or the Mohammedans.

During the latter part of the Dark Ages Idealism was propagated throughout Europe by the Scholastics, a group of teachers well versed in theology and idealist philosophy. These teachers founded Scholasticism, a system of education which forced the student to accept theological Idealism as the only true approach to all subjects. The Scholastics held that the teacher should always expound the will of God only; that knowledge was to be used only in the realm of religion, and was never to be used in the world of material things. Worldly things, including all science, were held to be sinful, and were to be avoided as much as possible even as matters for discussion. Commerce and business generally were held to be very sinful when

engaged in outside the Church, and laymen were especially warned about this.

The Scholastics adopted teleology and shaped that ancient system of thought, which holds that every thing serves some purpose, to suit the theological Idealism of the period. They agreed with teleology that everything has a purpose to serve, but they held that this purpose is solely to glorify God. They held that everything in the universe was designed by God so that it would bring praise to Himself —glorify Himself. For examples, they held that man was given the power to praise God so that he could and would do so, and was given the power to believe so that he could and would believe in God. Many things were held to be made for the use of man so that he could live and perpetuate the race mainly to praise and glorify God. Conveniences were designed to aid man for the same purpose. For diverse examples, man's legs were made to bend at the knees so that man could easily get into the proper position to pray to God, and fleas were made black so that man could see them on a white sheet. Man was obligated to thank God for these conveniences. (During the early Scholastic period the ancient religious theory that God demands praise from man was combined with the comparatively recent theory that God needs help from man, and this combination was then highly developed. It finally held that any act was justifiable if it aided, praised, or in any way helped to glorify God. Even murder and other acts of violence were condoned if they aided God. Religious leaders were the final judges as to whether or not an act was justified, and many acts of violence against man went unpunished as a result of the acceptance of this theory. All an offender had to do was to prove that he had only "taken the side of God" in a contest; that he had "defended" God, or God's "word" against an "unbeliever." This theory was retained by the Protestants during the Reformation, and it still survives in modified forms in many Christian sects.)

The Scholastics taught that Christian laymen would injure their souls if they engaged in private business. This theory probably was developed because the Roman Church was the chief business monopolist and wished to avoid competition. (Obviously whenever laymen engaged in private business Church income was reduced.) The Church, however, conceded that some business, including money lend-

ing, had to be carried on outside the Church, therefore it often allowed Jews to do this. It was considered that Jews probably were doomed in any case.

Some Christian laymen engaged in private business in spite of Church opposition, and the Church recognized this fact by establishing three different prices that Christians could charge for goods or services. These prices were called "the three prices of St. Antonius" and were as follows: 1. Pious price. This was the price that good Christians should charge. 2. Holy price. This was higher than the pious price and was too much, and therefore dishonest, but one could charge it if the extra money received was given to the Church. (Notre Dame in Paris was built mainly with money obtained by this device.) 3. Discretion or "soul" price. This was a still higher price and was dishonest to the extent that it was very sinful, but one was allowed to charge it if his soul was in exceptionally good condition. That is, if one had, by doing many good deeds, gotten his soul into such good shape that it could stand the strain of a very sinful act he could charge this price. (However, even though these concessions were made, Church pressure against laymen engaging in private business was so strong that until as late as the nineteenth century, in some parts of Europe, businessmen were incapacitated socially.)

During the Dark Ages usurers were considered very sinful, and Dante felt that they were bad enough to be put into the lowest regions of hell, but the papacy said that they were "peculiar sons of the Church," and usury gradually gained Church favor. During the latter part of this period a Flemish banking concern sent a man to Bologna, where the Church was holding court, to argue with the Church in favor of usury. This firm, which made a business of discounting indulgence receipts, wanted to charge interest. The Church first opposed this, but finally allowed it, if the interest was called insurance.

During this period "palmers," agents of the Vatican, went about Europe selling "indulgences." These agents, usually in areas far removed from Rome such as England, often made and sold fake indulgences without the knowledge or consent of the Church. This practice not only reduced sales of the true indulgences, and thereby reduced Church income, but also, when it became known that forged

indulgences were being sold, troubled the peace of mind of buyers. No buyer could be certain whether he had bought a forged or true indulgence. And a buyer who had committed an evil deed, or crime, as he was entitled to do on the assumption that his indulgence receipt, which he had paid for in good faith, would protect him from the wrath of God, naturally suffered severe mental torture until he had exchanged his forged receipt for one issued by proper Church authority. This was an expensive matter, as the buyer usually had to pay twice for one indulgence. News of the sale of forged indulgences also made buyers wary, and as a consequence sales of true indulgences fell off. Also the sellers of true indulgences often did not properly account to the Church for their sales. These circumstances finally forced the Church to take action not only to protect its source of income, but also to protect its customers. The Church then made deals with business concerns, operated chiefly by laymen especially trained in financial matters, in order that its indulgence transactions could be handled in a more businesslike manner.

Until late in the Dark Ages about the only philosophical thinking developed by Christian laymen without aid from Mohammedans was expressed in such questions as: "Can God make a rock so heavy that He cannot lift it?" "How many angels can stand on the point of a pin?" But even so only the boldest of skeptics dared to think about such questions, as the Church considered them heretical and usually persecuted people suspected of asking or even thinking about them.

Near the end of the Dark Ages the Idealism of Augustine gave way to the Idealism of Aquinas, a philosophy better suited to the then advanced stage of feudal society. Aquinas was the greatest philosopher produced during the "age of doubt," and was a progressive of his time. His philosophy was based on Aristotelian philosophy which he got from non-Christian Arabs, who with the Jews had kept alive Greek learning during many centuries when the Christians were trying to destroy it. (For nearly a thousand years the non-Christian Arabs and the Jews were far more constructive, optimistic, and progressive generally than the Christians. From about the middle of the seventh century to about the end of the fifteenth century nearly all scientists in the parts of the world dominated by Christians

were either Mohammedans or Jews, and nearly all doctors were Jews. During this period the Church prevented the practice or study of medicine from a scientific standpoint by Christians. The Church did this because it derived a huge revenue from "miracle cures" at shrines which it maintained, and from the sale of bones of saints which were supposed to cause cures. Doctors trained in medical science would have reduced this very profitable Church business, but leading Churchmen, including popes, employed Jewish doctors for their personal households.)

Aquinas introduced a new and less reactionary philosophy into Christianity, which eventually changed for the better the thinking of Christians. He was optimistic, and said that there are no bad things but only bad uses that are made of things. That is, he said that good or bad in things depend upon their use. He said that there is nothing in the mind that was not previously in the senses. He based all knowledge on experience which we get by means of our senses, and held that all our experience comes only through our senses. (These are materialistic conceptions, but hardly could have been so recognized during the time of Aquinas.)

Aquinas contended that there are two classes (body or flesh and soul or spirit) of everything including society. He said that reason is a clearing ground for faith. His conservative side is reflected in his "five proofs of God," which are as follows: 1. First mover (God), who Himself is unmoved. There must be some thing to start things, otherwise no progress is possible. Whatever is moved is moved by something else before it. 2. Cause. Everything except the "first mover" is caused by something else before it. 3. Necessity. God is the sum of all necessity. It is necessary to assume a being (God) who is necessary in Himself, and does not receive the cause of His necessity from something else. Everything but God is conditioned by something else, and everything we see is derived by something outside itself. 4. All finite creatures must have an absolute standard, and there must of necessity be such a standard of good (absolute truth). This standard is God. (That is, to speak of one thing as more true and another thing as less true means that we must assume a standard that is true.) 5. God is necessary to keep contending factions in order. There must be a governing principle in the world—something to govern (har-

monize) all things—or there will be chaos. (These "proofs" obviously are not proofs, according to modern scientific rules of evidence. They are only conjectures based on what was considered sound reasoning during the time of Aquinas.)

Because Aquinas contended that all knowledge is based on experience only, and that man gets his experience only through the five senses of the body, a difficult problem in Church doctrines arose. If only the body could get experience it was necessary to save the body as well as the soul, for otherwise the soul could not experience anything in heaven, or anywhere else. That is, the soul would not be conscious of either the joys of heaven or the tortures of hell; therefore it would not matter which place the soul went to after the body died. In that case religion as a supernatural force could not be used as a potent technique for control of society, because it would have nothing to offer after death. Obviously it was necessary that there be a conscious life beyond the grave if religion was to have its generally accepted meaning, and this required that the body remain with the soul. (Soul without body would never know anything, and would be completely helpless, and actually meaningless.) Therefore, the doctrine of the resurrection of the body was absolutely necessary, if there was to be a conscious future life, and this doctrine was made a very important dogma of the Church.

CHAPTER VI

Renaissance Idealism

During the fifteenth century progressive tendencies began to appear in Idealism in some parts of Europe, but mainly in England and Bohemia. These tendencies were due to new interpretations of the economic theories of the Bible, made and advanced mainly by Wycliffe and Huss, theologians who held that the Bible did not support the economic theories embodied in Roman Church doctrines. By the sixteenth century these tendencies—which were mainly economic—toward progressivism in philosophy had become strong enough to be of great value to the then rising capitalistic movement, and they helped this movement gain strength and momentum. As a result of this the capitalists, practically all of whom were Protestants and Jews, encouraged all progressive philosophy, including the most "radical" Materialism. This weakened the position of Idealism and feudalism, and insured the success of capitalism. (If the capitalists had not supported materialistic philosophy the Renaissance movement almost certainly would have been crushed out, and all of the Protestant religious leaders would have been burned at the stake.)

The Renaissance started many men thinking about the universe, and the nature of things within it, from a scientific viewpoint, but the idealist philosophers, especially George Berkeley, the philosopher who aided Idealism most during this period, tried to undermine this kind of thinking. These philosophers especially wanted to offset or weaken any attack on religious dogmas, and they advanced ideas which supported religious conceptions of things. This situation gave rise to many controversies involving the nature of things. For example, John Locke, a great progressive philosopher of the period, but whose interests were mainly in the field of politics, said that we cannot know the original thing; that all we can do is get a copy of it; that the

brain is a place where we file copies and not originals. Berkeley said that he was not only abreast of Locke, but was ahead of him; that if we can only have a copy of a thing and never have the original, how do we know that there is an original? He said that things are merely the objects of our perceptions; that the existence of a thing is its being perceived; that things would not exist if we did not perceive them. For example, he held that not only is there no sugar unless it is seen or felt, but also that there is no taste in it unless it is tasted. He felt that our idea of the thing is the thing; that nothing exists but spirits and the objects of our perceptions and imaginations; that we cannot know anything beyond our sensations; that the data we perceive are a function of the senses, and are not substantial enough to exist by themselves.

Berkeley held that God binds the world together; that God impresses His mind on ours, and in this way gives us certain standard experiences which we use; that we are only aware of the qualities (light, beauty, long, short, etc.) of the world, not its substance; that no one can know the substance; that the substance does not exist as matter; that all substance is spiritual; that things which are seen are only "adjectives" of the "self." He said that ideas come to our "self" only from God, and we only think (use ideas) after God gives them to us; that we cannot think unless God gives us ideas to start us to thinking; that only the "self" can have ideas. (David Hume, a materialist philosopher, said that he was ahead of Berkeley, just as Berkeley had said that he was ahead of Locke. Hume said that Berkeley was conscious of himself, but not of the material world, and asked Berkeley to explain where the "self" is that has "ideas.")

Berkeley held that all of our ideas and sensations, even in the case of one person talking to another, must pass through a master universal mind (the mind of God). (That is, he held that God acts on the principle of a gigantic telephone exchange system as regards our thoughts and sensations, and that this lets us know about things.)

Berkeley held that things are merely ideas in our minds; that we see things only because we expect to see them. He held that the sun does not rise; that we are just accustomed to expect it to rise, therefore we imagine that we see it; that there really is no sun; that we merely think we see it because we have been conditioned to see it.

He held that things would disappear entirely when we did not look at them, if God did not watch them; that when we leave a room everything in the room disappears as far as we are concerned. (In connection with these and similar ideas as to the nature of things some philosophers of the period divided everything into two groups. The first group included color, sound, odor, taste impressions, and touch impressions, which they thought exist only when experienced, and the other group included such things as size, weight, number, motion, shape, etc., which they thought actually exist. These thinkers said that we get all of the things in both groups from our senses. Berkeley said that the things in the second group do not exist; that they cannot exist unless there is something to measure, weigh, count, move, etc.; that we have to get the things in the second group as part of the first group; that things in the second group are simply inferences from things in the first group.)

Berkeley's philosophy was a reaction against "Newtonism" (a word used to denote the scientific thinking of the period), and was designed mainly to destroy or discredit the rapidly developing materialistic philosophy which had become a powerful intellectual force and was supporting all science. This materialistic philosophy was aiding the then rising ideology, capitalism, by undermining all idealistic philosophy (mainly theological Idealism), which was supporting the old ideology, feudalism.

Berkeley apparently believed that if materialistic philosophy was not discredited it would destroy the chief support (belief in supernatural intervention in the affairs of man) of the old order, and because of this developed his philosophy with the object of leading people away from scientific thinking, and toward religious thinking. In any case, his philosophy had a strong tendency to do this. For example, it especially implied that the universe and everything in it, including every thought and action, depended entirely upon God. Berkeley, in this way, increased the content of emotion, faith, belief, and mysticism that already existed in subjective Idealism (as distinguished from theological Idealism), and strengthened the position of "objective" Idealism. This, in turn, weakened the influence of materialistic philosophy, science, and the progressive capitalistic movement generally, and aided the forces of reaction. (After the Russian

Revolution of 1917, idealist philosophers, in efforts to discredit materialistic thinking, followed the example set by Berkeley. They then began to emphasize the importance of God in the scheme of things, and in this way developed the same kind of thought control—mind conditioning—process which was initiated by Berkeley. In this case, however, the idealist philosophers were supporting capitalism, and opposing materialistic thinking because it was again disrupting the established order by aiding socialism, the new ideology which was then beginning to rise.)

During the early Renaissance period, idealist philosophers developed to its fullest extent the theory of the "ideal thing," which had its beginnings during the Dark Ages. This theory held that the real, or "ideal," thing is not, and cannot ever be, on earth, but is and remains "with God." It held that things on earth are merely imperfect copies of perfect, or ideal, things which are in heaven, and that no perfect thing is, or can ever be, on earth. God was considered the ideal of perfection, and all perfect things were in heaven with Him. The very best table on earth, for example, was considered only an imperfect copy of a perfect table in heaven. (The perfection of the things in heaven inspired man to try to make copies of them, according to this theory. The things in heaven, however, were not material things; they were merely ideas of things. The ideas of things which man got in his head were supposed to come to him directly from the ideal things in heaven, and when he began making something he was only "materializing" an idea which he had received. That is, ideas were received in one's head from heaven, and were thought to "materialize" when acted upon.)

In connection with the theory of the "ideal thing" the word "materialize" came to mean the action occurring during the process of changing an idea into a material thing. In this process something material evolved out of an idea—actually out of a non-material thing (an abstraction)! The idea of the thing, of course, was considered superior to the material thing, as it was prior to the material thing. This theory was in line with, and no doubt stemmed from, the religious theory, accepted by many people of the Renaissance period, that God could make things out of nothing, and actually made the entire universe out of nothing. Man, God's chosen creature, and on earth next

to God in importance and ability, was also supposed to be able to make things out of nothing, but obviously on a much smaller and less efficient scale, by "materializing" ideas. (Idealism received its present name from this general idea.)

The idea, first highly developed by Aristotle, that thought alone can do things was further developed and expanded during this period, and it was eventually accepted by many thinkers—mainly, however, by the more advanced theologians. These thinkers held that God "thought" the universe into existence; that nothing whatever but thought was involved in the process of creating the universe. This idea is pure theological Idealism, but it is an advance in religious thought and is now generally accepted by many Christian thinkers who cannot accept the idea of an anthropomorphic God and as a consequence consider God a purely spiritual being, having no physical body or material aspects of any kind. (The idea that thought alone can do things is relatively unimportant, and seldom arises, among people who consider God anthropomorphic, as they can easily assume that God makes things as man makes things, that is, mainly with the hands. Obviously, it is not difficult to believe that an anthropomorphic God can fashion material as man can, but a purely spiritual God cannot do this. Such a God, having no hands, arms, legs, etc., could not make a world as a man makes a house, for example. He, of necessity, would have to use some other means, and the idea that "thought" alone can be used for this purpose is an easy rationalization of a complex theological problem, especially for those who can accept an unscientific approach to things. The idea of an anthropomorphic God began to lose its validity as a theological or philosophical concept when scientists, early in the Renaissance, proved that the universe was millions of times larger than was generally believed up to that time. The idea of a spiritual God then became a necessary theological concept, if religious thought was to have much influence in a world of rapidly advancing scientific thought. When the universe was believed to be comparatively small it was not difficult to believe that an anthropomorphic God only a few hundred miles tall could have built it, and such a conception of God did not seem unreasonable to comparatively ignorant people. But when science proved that the universe was inconceivably large it became clear than an anthropo-

morphic God big enough to build it, as a man builds a house, would have to be millions of miles tall. Such an idea of God could not be grasped even by very ignorant people, completely under the influence of priests, therefore the idea of an anthropomorphic God of some kind, which had held through all previous religious thought, began to lose favor, and now has been discarded, except by the most ignorant of the conservative elements of society.)

Predestination, Determinism, and Free Will were the chief idealistic conceptions accepted by capitalists during the Renaissance. Predestination is pure Idealism, and it contains both philosophy and religion. It is very old, and ever since the second century A.D. idealist philosophers and theologians have been constantly developing its theory which holds that man cannot, under any condition or circumstance, act in any other way than he does act. This theory grew out of the logical religious assumption that God is all-powerful and all-knowing. It contends that when God created the universe He arranged everything that would ever happen thereafter in it, even to the smallest detail, and nothing can change this situation; that God not only planned everything in advance that would ever happen in the universe, but knows everything that ever happened or will ever happen. In short, everything happens the way God planned it to happen. (No change from the way God planned the universe to operate is possible as change would carry with it the implication that God made a mistake during the creation. This is inadmissible as obviously anything created by an all-powerful and all-knowing God would be perfect, and change in it would be unthinkable.) It follows that every detail of the life of each person was arranged when the universe was created, and no one can in any way change his life. God knows in advance what every person will do in every situation, and what reward or punishment the person will get. This theory holds that man cannot act as he chooses; that "free will" is impossible. God knows before a sinner is born that the sinner will sin. God also knows what punishment He will give to the sinner. Actually, a sinner cannot avoid sinning, no matter how hard he may try, because God made him so that he would sin! This is a very disconcerting doctrine from the standpoint of converting or holding people to a religious life, as obviously it does not matter in the least

how one lives as far as his reward or punishment in the hereafter is concerned.

Predestination obviously is the inescapable conclusion that believers in an "all-powerful" and "all-knowing" God (like the orthodox Christian God) must finally arrive at, and it has always influenced Christians since the time of Augustine. It reached its highest point of influence on Christians in the sixteenth century when John Calvin and his followers, the Calvinists, made it the chief philosophical theory of Calvinism. This gave it a great impulse, and during the Reformation it was developed to its fullest extent by the Protestants, who used it to tremendous advantage in their struggle against the Roman Church. The Protestants, and especially those whose primary interests in the Reformation were economic, pointed out that if everything was predestined—that if nothing could be changed in any case, as Predestination taught—then there was no point in buying indulgences, submitting to penances, asking forgiveness for sins, praying, paying money for divine favor or for anything else connected with religion as taught by the Roman Church. That is, they held that it was useless and witless to try to change a course of events which was arranged in advance by an "all-powerful" God to please or suit Himself. This reasoning, which is clearly sound, undermined and weakened many of the doctrines, beliefs, and dogmas of the Roman Church, and, therefore, was of great value to the cause of the Protestants. It especially aided the rising capitalistic businessmen of the day, because it permitted money to be used for purely economic purposes which otherwise would have been spent for religious purposes.

In developing Predestination, the Calvinists advanced a theory called "election," which was supposed to indicate who were predestined (chosen by God) to go to heaven. This theory held that the "elect" (those who were in God's favor, and would, therefore, be saved) were those who would succeed in any business they undertook, and it favored businessmen, especially those who tried hard to be successful. Success in business was considered an infallible test of the goodness in man, God's favor, and a final reward in heaven. Everyone who failed in business was thought to be doomed to hell from the start, but no one knew in advance who was so doomed, therefore everyone tried hard to succeed, that is, to show others that

he had God's favor. In this way, Predestination helped to produce an energetic, tireless, businessman class, and it greatly aided rising capitalism in Europe. (Calvinism held that none but Calvinists could get into heaven in any case, and even that about ninety per cent of all Calvinists would be damned. This was a necessary conclusion to the general idea of election, when it was first developed, because success within the economic order of sixteenth century Europe was limited almost entirely to a few especially favored, and usually clearly indicated, people.)

The theory of election worked well in a comparatively stable ("static") society where success or failure of an individual could often be determined in advance with a reasonable degree of accuracy, as was the case in Europe where the accident of birth was usually the principal factor in success. But it failed utterly in early America, because the enormous natural resources of a great new country, ripe for capitalistic exploitation, by the then rising, progressive, capitalists, gave almost unlimited economic opportunities to free men. Obviously, the chance of being successful in America during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was not limited to a small, and clearly indicated group.

Predestination, along with pure Calvinism, collapsed in America when economic opportunity accompanied by reason, common sense, and scientific knowledge became more important to the individual than blind faith in religious dogma. Due mainly to the Predestination theory, Calvinism in America finally disintegrated and some of its adherents formed small sects based on various aspects of Calvinistic doctrines, and the others were absorbed into the already existing Protestant sects. In this way Calvinistic influences eventually permeated all middle class Protestantism in nineteenth century America, a circumstance which resulted in church goers being considered those most likely to succeed financially. These people were mainly the rich and the well-to-do, and it was suggested that God had favored them in economic matters because they "feared" Him, and, therefore, went to church regularly. The Protestant poor in this period were not reliable church goers, and because of this it was suggested that God did not favor them because they did not fear Him and neglected Him. That is, they were poor because they were not "God-fearing"

and did not go to church. Finally, however, many poor people who did not attend church became well-to-do; therefore, the theory that only church people could be successful became indefensible. Because of this, and other circumstances which developed in a rapidly expanding economic and social order, mainly the need for a permanent poor working class, the "poor but honest" theory was invented and developed by the owning classes. This theory held that *some* poor people were good, and therefore had a chance to be successful, even though they were not especially reliable church goers. (This was a necessary philosophical theory to rationalize and harmonize an existing economic situation with capitalistic interests as well as with the Protestant theology of the period. Obviously, some people had to be considered good even though they were poor, and this general idea was used to advantage by the owning classes. Certain of the poor, those who would work hard at low pay for the owning classes, were pronounced good, honest, "God-fearing," industrious, etc., even though they did not attend church and were not successful financially. All others, those who usually could not be used to advantage by the owning classes, were considered bad, dishonest, "no good," "God-forsaken," ne'er-do-wells, shiftless, etc. This classification of poor people served to divide them into two contending groups, and it forced insecurity and poverty on the "bad" group. This group finally began to organize labor unions for its protection. The "good" group, on the other hand, supported the employers when conflict arose between employers and employees, and opposed labor organizations generally.)

Determinism is closely related to Predestination, but it has some materialistic tendencies. It is based on the theory that every event of every kind proceeds from cause; granted a cause, the consequent event is inevitable. It holds that every action is determined by some previous action, and therefore ultimately by the forces that control the universe. It assumes that the character of an individual depends not only on his own past, but also on his ancestors' past.

Free Will is in conflict with Predestination and Determinism, but even so it is an almost pure idealistic conception. It is based on the theory that all people have a choice between right and wrong; that they are free to do either right or wrong, and know beforehand

what is right and what is wrong. In short, it holds that people have the power to avoid doing things which will send them to jail or hell, or both. Most religious doctrines and idealistic philosophical theories are based on Free Will ideas.

Conflict between Determinism and Free Will was developed to its highest extent during the Renaissance by idealist philosophers and religious leaders, and this conflict is still in progress with no noticeable advantage having been gained by either side. Neither the philosophers nor the religionists agree among themselves as to which side to support, and this fact greatly complicates what probably is a useless struggle. (Materialist philosophy holds that the freedom of the will is severely limited by opportunity and ability.)

CHAPTER VII

German Idealism

German Idealism differs somewhat from nearly all other Idealism mainly in that it attempts to include some reality in mysticism. During its most prominent and influential period, the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, this philosophy made a special effort to compromise with Materialism. Immanuel Kant, its greatest leader, tried to bring about a compromise between religion and science, but he tried to do this in a way that would make religion superior to science.

Kant was one of the greatest idealist philosophers of all time, but unlike at least nearly all other idealists he did not consider Materialism a menace which should be undermined and destroyed. He considered it of some value, and wished to save at least part of it. In an effort to do this he tried to rationalize and justify the position of science in the world of religion, of understanding in the world of belief. He made a tremendous effort to restore religion to the very high place from which science, during the early Renaissance period, had pushed it. But he tried to do this without weakening the position of science. Because of this approach in philosophy he won favor with both the religious leaders and the scientists.

Kant developed a philosophy based mainly on high-minded but futile abstractions, which tended to discourage effective revolutionary action against the reaction of the period. He was for "good will" only, and said that nothing is absolutely good but good will. This idea was the high point of German Idealism, and it correctly sums up this philosophy.

Kant said that perception without conception is blind, and conception without perception is empty. He said that the mind fits things in, or selects the things, that prove science. In an attempt to protect religion he contended that anything which it is socially de-

sirable to believe is believable. (This is not true, and is good evidence that Kant's logic was distorted by a desire to justify traditional religious practice.)

Kant said that mind, which knows experience, forces things into categories. He identified mind with "self," in this instance, and said that when the a priori categories of understanding, which he held were the categories of Aristotle—that is, action, passion, place, possession, posture, quality, quantity, relation, substance, and time—are put together they form "self." Man molds his own "self" when he puts together all of these categories, and everything that is contributed by the "self" is included in these categories. In other words, "self" is a synthetic unity of apperception which puts experience together in terms of categories of understanding. These categories are the a priori forms of apperception, and none of them come from experience of the senses, but all of them come from the mind, according to Kant.

Kant divided the world (universe) into two parts, the noumenal world and the phenomenal world. He held that these worlds are completely separated from each other, but each acts somewhat on the other, and are as follows:

1. The noumenal world (the thing-in-itself or heart-of-things) is the world of mind (reason). This world consists of religion, faith, intuition, freedom, art, perception of morality, perception of beauty, and all other things outside the material (science-body-understanding) world. This is the real world, and it is known only by reason, that is, by the mind of man through logic, religion, faith, intuition, etc. This is the whole world of human purposes, of values and human experience, of choice and freedom. This world is higher (more important) than the material world, and it cannot be known by science, or by any scientific means (techniques) whatever.

2. The phenomenal world is the world of the body (understanding), and is the world of material phenomena (sensation). This world consists of matter, mechanism, necessity, cause and effect, time and space. This world is much smaller than the noumenal world but it contains all that we can know scientifically, and it is known by the senses, which are in the field of science.

Kant said that we are bound to think mathematically because our

minds, which do the thinking, must by the very nature of things pour the world of scientific thought into channels, and can do this only in terms of mathematics. In other words, we have to think mathematically because our minds think that way, and cannot think in any other way. We do not think mathematically because things are mathematical (they are not, according to Kant), but because that is the only way we can think.

Kant held that events are connected, facts are related; that the most important category is cause and effect; that we order all of our experiences in their cause and effect relation (position, etc.); that we grasp the world (universe) with our mind, and our mind imposes order, including form (shape and qualities) on things, by forcing all of our sense experiences (all that we see, feel, hear, etc.) into molds (framework or channels) of time and space. He held that time and space are our a priori forms of perception (experience), and he also held that neither time nor space need to exist! He simply took the position that we, of necessity, have to organize our thinking in terms of time and space, even though neither exist.

Kant held that the molds (time and space) are prior to experience; that we always have the molds with us, and they are a part of our contribution; that experiences of the material world are of no value to us until we pour them into these molds. Then, however, our mind uses these molds to mold, harden, fix, etc., the world. Our mind does not merely reflect the world, but actually makes (creates or constructs) the world, and we can only know the world as we have "created" or constructed it with our mind, that is, as we have put it into shape (run it into our molds). This is the world as we know it—a world which we have formed and shaped with our mind. (This theory is a logical continuation of a religious idea which holds that God's mind made the universe out of nothing; that God "thought" the universe into being.)

Kant had the following progressive aspects: 1. He reflected the ethics of the capitalist class of his time, and not feudalism. 2. He said, "Do nothing that you would not be willing to have everyone else do." (His "categorical imperative" demanded that no man be mistreated morally. It held that no man should be used or treated as a means to an end, but that every man should be considered as

an end in himself. This is a high ethical concept, and even though historically it has never been workable, it probably will become workable in the comparatively near future.) 3. He discredited and lessened the influence of other, more reactionary, idealist philosophers. 4. His philosophy contained no magic, miracles, supernaturalism, or superstition of any kind.

German Idealism, under the leadership of Georg Hegel during the early part of the nineteenth century, reached a point at which it was almost progressive. This, however, was due mainly to the fact that at that period reactionary philosophy was flourishing, and there was very little progressive philosophy of any kind in use. German Idealism was then merely the least reactionary of the idealistic philosophies that influenced man, and Materialism was then generally ineffective. Since that period, mainly because of Hegel, German Idealism has deteriorated, and now has little influence. (Its place has been taken mainly by Materialism.)

Hegel was the greatest thinker of the bourgeois (middle class capitalist) world and the last great idealist philosopher. He made the last great attempt to save Idealism, but his efforts actually weakened it. This was mainly because his philosophy contained a system of logic which was of considerable value to materialist philosophy, but also because it contained many progressive ideas which were accepted and used to advantage by materalists. Because he was recognized as a very great thinker, these facts had an immediate and lasting adverse effect on all idealist philosophy. Actually, Hegel provided the means by which Materialism was able to emerge in the twentieth century as a powerful progressive social force. Many materialist philosophers, including Karl Marx, adopted the logic and progressive ideas of Hegel and applied them to Materialism, with disastrous results to Idealism. In this way, the influence of Hegel on modern progressive thought became tremendous.

Hegel was the fountain-head of modern thought, and his thinking was a challenge to reorganize society on a more rational basis. He introduced scientific thinking into Idealism, and developed the art of reasoning to its highest point, but he mixed logic with mysticism. Also he attacked with great force and effect all superstition, but he justified—probably because of personal economic necessity—the po-

sition of the vested interests of his day. His philosophy, however, while of some temporary value to those interests, eventually greatly harmed them.

Hegel believed that the universe is the result of one great, supernatural, mind. He contended that there must be an "absolute" (or "absolute idea") that has always existed and that it is the "totality of reality," or process as a whole. That is, the "absolute" is "total process," and includes the entire universe—all mind and matter—present and past. (This means that all thought and action as well as everything else, including all history, in all time is included in the "absolute." This is a "dynamic god" idea, and is the opposite of the "static god" idea, previously developed mainly by Baruch Spinoza.)

Hegel believed that some "high" idea is being "unfolded" to man. He held that the absolute must have reason and consciousness, and is the only thing that can be completely explained; that the absolute is higher than man, but that man is next to the top and is constantly moving higher—toward the absolute—and can almost be explained. He said that "total process" is, and must be, completely "self" conscious (self-conscious subject). (He considered this self-explanatory!) He said that all being (reality, substance, or essence) is a unification of contradictory forces; that being is in itself a subject. (The notion of the substance, or being, as a subject conceives all reality as a process, and is the most fundamental of Hegel's ideas.)

Hegel said that "self" is the process of maintaining an identity against anything which would change the identity; that "subject" is that which opposes the forces which act on it (the subject) and change it, and is not only the knowing or conscious self, but is also a mode of existence of a self-developing unity in an antagonistic process.

Hegel held that everything which exists is real in so far as it represents "self," but that there are degrees of real; that a stone, a plant, and a human being represent different degrees of real. He considered "real" to mean the power that a thing has to realize its destiny—place in development, etc.; that in man it means the power which he can use to change himself, his environment, and the society he lives in. He said that true subject (self) carries within

itself the realization of freedom; that a stone is a true subject and is explained by external forces while a man is a true subject and is explained by internal forces. (But he thought that only to the degree that man is conditioned can man be explained.)

Hegel said that reality is change, and that all change is reducible to abstract laws. (He believed that the laws of change in man's world are laws of ideas which first operate within one's mind, and later in the material world. This was his strongest and most influential idealistic conception as to the nature of the operation of things.) He held that everything is "becoming" (a process); that a stone, a plant, man, and all other things including the universe as a whole are processes, and that reality proceeds (evolves) at different levels. He developed a "self-subject" theory of the "levels of subjectiveness" to explain this general idea, which holds that progress (upward—from level to level) is as follows:

1. A stone is a very low level (grade) of "self." It is changed by external forces acting on it. It does not change itself, as a human changes itself, and it loses its "self" when it is broken up. To be a stone is to be a process. A stone is a subject-object, and is a stone only as it can resist change, that is, resist all the forces that are trying to break it up.

2. A plant—whole mood from seed to seed—comes much nearer to being a real (actual) "self" than a stone does. A plant unfolds itself, while a stone merely preserves itself against external forces. A plant is a great development toward the "self-hood," on a much higher level than a stone, but even so it does not comprehend its development. A plant does change itself, but it does not know that it does so. It does not, and cannot, reason (realize) its own potentialities into being. It does not mold its destiny.

3. Man is a very high grade of "self"—second only to the absolute. In man "self" is the conscious realization of his advancement. Man alone has the understanding of his potentialities, and power of self-realization, and thus realization of life. He is a "self-realizing" subject, and can mold the world into line with his potentialities. Only man can understand and control his being and the forces which act on things, and thereby plan his destiny. Man alone has a knowledge of thoughts. (Hegel meant the middle class French—particularly

the capitalists — of his time, and not the nobility, the industrial workers, the peasants, nor any other class. He welcomed the French Revolution as it freed the capitalists from many of the still remaining influences of feudalism. He said that only as man emerges from the "fetters of feudalism" can he mold his life. He, however, believed that hunters, herdsmen, and tillers of the soil have no rights in the absolute state; that the absolute state must control everything, even peoples outside the state.)

4. The universe (the "absolute" or "total process") is the highest grade of "self."

Hegel showed that political, economic, social, and religious conditions are the products of a great many factors (forces and circumstances); that these conditions are a resolution of these factors, and not the products of any one thing. He held that the philosophy of a period is determined by the history of the period; that philosophy is evolutionary, that it developed as man developed, and therefore should be considered in its relation to the conditions of the period. (In this way he implied that philosophers do not produce, or create, conditions, but on the contrary are produced by conditions.)

Hegel believed that philosophy and history are nothing but "self" unfolding; that history is but the unfolding of a great idea; that all history is a march toward freedom. He said that freedom is the recognition (comprehension) of necessity; that one becomes free precisely as one understands the process; that one achieves freedom by understanding necessity. He believed that one obtains freedom when one understands the laws that govern things well enough to control them; that understanding makes man free. He said that the only reality is necessity; that when a thing (material thing or system) becomes unnecessary it becomes unreal. He held that all reality, both material and spiritual, should be governed by reason (thought).

Hegel believed that objects are only the results of man's perceptions. He brought Kant's two worlds (reason and understanding— or soul and body) together, and made one world out of them. But he did this by eliminating the "body" from the "soul and body" idea, which had been generally held through nearly all previous idealistic philosophy from at least as far back into history as the time of Plato. The idea had been "soul vs. body," which was considered "law vs.

will." Hegel simply brought soul (mind) and body (matter) together into soul. He thus did not bridge the gap between soul and body, but rather eliminated the necessity for a bridge.

Hegel was conscious of change and progress everywhere, and realized that people should work together (cooperate) for their common good. The sum of people working together for this good was to him a very close approximation of the absolute. He wanted to develop a society that would contain most of the things that the materialists of the period wanted, but he considered politics much superior to economics, or anything else. That is, he considered the state of utmost importance; that economics, sociology, and religion were minor considerations when compared with politics.

Hegel tried to show that various states in history were moved higher by the "spirit." He held that states were aspects of the spirit seeking a higher level, and thought that this was especially true of the "four great" states before the Prussian state of his day. He glorified the state, and apparently believed that everything changed except that which is perfect—and that the Prussian state was perfect! He almost worshiped the Prussian state. He considered it the nearest thing on earth to the absolute, but this is not a serious fault, as in his day the Prussian state was much less reactionary than many other European states.

During the Renaissance German Idealism opposed change so strongly that it had a devitalizing and debilitating effect on the rising, progressive, capitalistic, middle class. Under the influence of this philosophy this class in Germany did not make a determined attempt to overthrow feudalism. By the end of the eighteenth century the rising English and French capitalists had deposed their last feudal kings and had completed the transition of their countries from feudalism to capitalism, but the German capitalists had made much less progress. This failure of the German progressives to keep abreast of the times, however, was partially due to the fact that during the Renaissance the Germans never had a great focal point like London or Paris to operate from. They were scattered about in relatively unimportant cities, mainly because the Holy Roman Empire had tended to decentralize Germans. Spain was the chief state of that Empire, and during the early Renaissance period the pope made an extremely

reactionary Spanish king the emperor of Germany. This greatly weakened the influence of progressive thought in Germany, a circumstance which helped to prevent the emergence of the German middle class as a powerful progressive force.

CHAPTER VIII

Modern Trends and Uses of Idealism

Idealism has been diluted to some extent since the time of Hegel, and some of it now being taught is similar to Mechanical Materialism. The modern conception of Idealism is very much less pure than the Idealism of the Middle Ages, or even of the Renaissance, and the trend of development of this philosophy is indicated in the thinking of William James, John Dewey, and Henri Bergson. These philosophers, while idealists, have made great concessions to Materialism, and as a result their Idealism has strong materialistic tendencies.

William James held that the world should be considered as a multitude of isolated problems, and that life is a constant job of solving these problems. He implied that we do not know, and cannot know, anything about the world itself; that we can only know about the problems it presents to us. He developed, and was the chief advocate of, Pragmatism, probably the most progressive form of Idealism now in use.

Pragmatism is a combination of idealistic and materialistic ideas, a progressive form of Dualism, and may properly be called materialistic Idealism. It is a "survival value of ideas and things" philosophy, and holds that intelligence is primary to matter. It holds that ideas that survive are true; that practical results are the sole tests of truth; that the real test of anything is what it does for you; that any system of thought that makes you happy is good. It was the philosophy of late nineteenth century and early twentieth century exuberant, expansionist, United States capitalism.

Pragmatism holds that man's mind imposes its will on things; that conflict arises because we have not defined our terms properly; that reflective thinking is the highest of all effort; that we should "keep in tune with nature"; that life is only a series of problems that we

solve by unlimited discussion; that the chief problem is how to make adjustments. It holds that when something happens in the mind something also happens in the body, and vice versa. (That is, it holds that there are two different but interlocking worlds, mind and body, and when something happens to one something also happens to the other.)

Pragmatism is a reflection of the peculiar American impatience with theory. It holds that any system has to pass the test of whether or not it works. It is founded on the deed, or the accomplishment; does it work, or get things done, and similar ideas. It puts great stress on the idea that what works best for "you, or for me" is good. (This is fallacious when applied to social problems because the idea comes into conflict within itself in real life. What works best for "you" sometimes hurts "me," and vice versa. But the pragmatic test is very properly applied to checking the "truth" of mathematical theories of physics or chemistry; such theories remain "true" only as long as they "work" when applied to new experimental data.)

John Dewey, the chief advocate of American Pragmatism, believed that thought is an instrument for solving problems for the purpose of keeping in touch with the "rhythm" of nature. He held that people should get in "tune" with nature. He wanted to condition (adjust) people to fit into society rather than to adjust society to meet the needs of people. He thought that the end is to solve problems by discussion; that discussing, resolving, persuading were the most important things to do. He believed that all problems are verbal, and therefore can be solved by discussion by a "creative intelligence" plan; that each problem is a problem in itself, and can be solved by isolating it from all other problems. He said that we should organize intelligence; that intelligence is an end in itself. He thought that we should formulate our plans to do things in the following order: isolate the problem, organize intelligence, organize social forces. (These are Dewey's chief conservative concepts.)

Dewey approached closer to the border of Materialism than did any of the other great idealist philosophers. He rejected absolutely all supernaturalisms, and took a strong stand against dogma. He held that faith in supernatural intervention and in authority is harmful (socially disadvantageous). He contended that one should have faith

in experience rather than in authority; that experience itself is the only real authority. (These are strong materialistic concepts, and they have greatly aided American progress.)

Henri Bergson, the last philosopher to propound an idealistic philosophy that has had an important influence on society, believed that the "thing itself" (the "heart-of-things" of Kant) can be "apprehended" (known) only by reason. He, however, held that knowledge comes from experience. He contended that there is, and should be, change, but held that unless something new is produced there is no change; that if a new thing is really new, and not the same as the old, it cannot arrive as a result of a re-arrangement (redistribution) of the old. (That is, he did not consider redistribution to be the same as change.) He considered intuition to be of great importance, and called it "listening to the beating heart of reality." He held that if a thing gets you what you want it is true, and was one of the last great thinkers to advance this strongly "individualistic," subjective, theory. His philosophy, "Vitalism" (life force), which flourished mainly in western Europe during the early part of the twentieth century, holds that: (a) Life is in two parts, reason and intuition. (b) Life and change are, and have to be, known by intuition. (c) There is, and has to be, a "creative spirit" or life force that streams through the universe and changes species into newer and higher forms. (All change is made in this way, according to this philosophy. The "creative spirit" is a supernaturalism of a magical nature, and is not a "divine" force as is the supernaturalism in theological Idealism. That is, the "creative spirit" is not a god nor has it any connection with a god or with any other aspect of religion.) (d) Change occurs in a series of unrelated jumps, and there is nothing of the old in the new, nor anything in the old to account for the new. (e) Science is the material and static side of things.

Vitalism is one of the few forms of idealistic philosophy that have some progressive aspects, but it tends to discourage experiments and to encourage reliance on supernatural forces for progress, therefore delays the advancement of civilization. Its only value to humanity is that it has a tendency to undermine other, more reactionary, forms of Idealism.

Idealism contends that man cannot really know the world, and

therefore he should not "waste time" trying to discover its "secrets"; that man should accept the world as he finds it, and not concern himself about its "mysteries"; that man should believe what has been handed down to him by the leaders of previous generations and not question the justice or rightfulness of any part of the existing order in capitalistic society. In nearly all circumstances it contends that "the old ways" are best, and that people should go back to their former ways of doing things. It always contends that if any part of the *present* political, economic, social, or religious order has to be changed for any reason the change must be backward to "the good old ways" rather than forward to untried and unknown ways. Mainly because of this attitude it hampers investigation, experimentation, and the extension of knowledge generally, and is the philosophy of all the elements of society whose interest it is to keep the masses steeped in ignorance and superstition. It chief uses are to keep people contented, satisfied, or at least reconciled to their *present* condition of life, to preserve the status quo in capitalistic society, and in general to keep the capitalistic world as it is. It usually opposes any change in the economic or social order that may cause the production of more of the material things of life or increase human desires or knowledge. It holds that the "highest," or greatest, inventions and discoveries are those that are of no material value to science, progress, or humanity.

With the sole exception of religion, Idealism is the most effective technique for social control in capitalistic society, and it is there forced on the people by means of all the agencies (religion, philosophy, education, science, art, literature, almost all means of information, ethics, politics, law, police, amusements, sports, diversions, and practically everything else which influences people) within the "social superstructure." It has always rationalized political, economic, social, and religious conditions in the interest of the owning groups in "class" (slave, feudal, and capitalist) society, by teaching that inequality in material things is natural, just, and proper. And there is no reason whatever for believing that it will ever abandon this anti-social, anti-democratic, and pro-ruling class attitude toward humanity.

The chief aim of Idealism is to prevent change. It always advises

the non-owning groups in class society to submit to conditions as they are, and not to try to change even the most reactionary of political, economic, social, or religious institutions. It is thus a reactionary (rightist) philosophy, and it is used to condition people, by confusing their minds and curbing their desires, to fit into the capitalistic world.

Idealism strongly opposes a more equal distribution of the material things of life. It contends that because of the very nature of human beings an equal division of material things, including necessities, conveniences, and luxuries, is impossible; that any effort to equalize the distribution of material things is doomed to failure from the start, because some people are more clever than others. It holds that if any division or distribution of these things is made on the basis of equality the more clever people (the rich) will always eventually regain whatever they may lose to the less clever people (the poor); that sooner or later a "new" division would have to be made, and that this re-distribution process would never end. These are the chief reasons that Idealism advances for opposing a more equal distribution of the material things of life. This philosophy holds that as long as there is an equal division of the "spiritual" things of life, such for examples as religion, belief, faith, hope, etc., the poor have no cause for complaint. (Modern materialists consider this unsound reasoning, and hold that in almost all circumstances material things, such as food, clothing, shelter, and medical care, are more valuable to people than "spiritual" things. These materialists hold that even freedom of expression, the greatest and most highly prized of all the non-material things, is of less value than food. And they contend that the poor need not remain at the mercy of the rich, or even remain poor; that laws not only can easily be made that will prevent the rich from defrauding, or otherwise taking unfair advantage of, the poor, but can also be made to facilitate the equalization of all of the good things of life.)

Miracles, chance, "free will," predestination, and everything else having to do with the supernatural are included in Idealism. Because of this it has a sinister value, as it turns people away from reality. However, in primitive society it probably was the inevitable, but not a necessary or desirable, development of philosophy.

Most idealistic philosophy, especially theological Idealism, holds that man is bad by nature, and that he can be made good—or improved to some extent—only by fear. And most idealists use fear as their chief device for control of society. They contend that fear is the best and most useful device for control of the masses; that it would be socially disadvantageous to eliminate fear, because without fear man would be difficult to control.

Idealism blames war, pestilence, famine, and the other evils that afflict man, on "the evil nature" of people, on "sin," etc., and in this way leads people to seek an escape by means of supernaturalisms and other things that involve mysteries outside the fields of science and nature. That is, it encourages "escapism." But in spite of this unscientific approach to human problems, Idealism is the most wide-spread philosophy in the world. (Probably ninety-nine per cent of all teachers of philosophy in non-socialistic countries are idealists and nearly all philosophy now taught in these countries is idealistic.)

There has been little change since the time of Pythagoras in the teaching of idealistic philosophy, except that it is now presented in a more subtle manner. The modern teachers of this kind of philosophy have a very strong influence on society, and are more clever at convincing people that inequality in material things should be accepted than the ancient Greek idealistic teachers were. The ancient Greeks, and especially the progressives (mainly Athenian democrats), knew that their teachers of this philosophy were merely rationalizing the economic position of the upper classes in the interest of those classes, but now only a few people know, or even suspect, that modern teachers of it are doing precisely the same thing. However, the idealistic world is shrinking; it is becoming smaller as progress is made. Education, science, technology (forces and results of production), reason, and common sense are undermining Idealism, and it is slowly losing its influence except among ignorant people.

Idealism probably will be of little or no value as a technique for control of society within a century. The idealists, of course, do not concede that Idealism will ever lose its position as the chief world philosophy, but this probably will occur within fifty years. However,

Idealism is still strong nearly everywhere in the world, except in Europe and northern Asia. It is especially influential in the western hemisphere, Africa, and all countries in Asia except the Soviet Union, China, Burma, Mongolia, and Korea.

One of the principal questions modern idealist philosophers are concerned about is whether or not man should have confidence in the evidence of his senses. They ask, "Does fire burn, or do we only imagine that it does?" "Does a table really exist, or do we only imagine that we see and feel it?" "Does any matter really exist?" These philosophers admit, or strongly imply, that they do not have confidence in the evidence of their senses. (Many idealists believe that a thing can be divided out of existence. They hold that if a thing is divided *enough* times a point will finally be reached where nothing is left to divide; that it is only a question of carrying the dividing process to its ultimate end to prove that things do not really exist!)

From an objective standpoint there is no essential difference between any of the various forms of idealistic philosophy as far as their use in "explaining" or rationalizing things is concerned. In all such cases one first decides what he wants to believe to be true, and then attempts to prove that what he believes to be true is true. Reason is used in this process, but it is usually guided chiefly by belief, faith, intuition, supernaturalism, mystical revelation, or emotion, and never by science. In fact, the scientific method of determining the truth is not in any way involved in this process, and never enters it.

The main social purpose of Idealism has always been to defend material inequality. And because Idealism and religion are so nearly alike this can be done equally well by either of these systems of thought. That is, religion can be substituted for Idealism, or vice versa, when a change of rationalization is desirable to defend material inequality. It is simply a matter of substituting a different weapon to defend interests when the other weapon does not produce the desired results, and either can be used without any change in the interests.

Idealism is of great value to the privileged classes in "class" society, and it reaches its highest point of usefulness to those classes in a form of society that is decaying, but is of little or no value to

any other people. It was especially well suited to the needs of the privileged classes in the closing periods of slave and feudal society, and is now of great value to the reactionary and conservative elements of capitalistic society. By delaying and discouraging change in capitalistic society Idealism seeks to prevent the inevitable end of class society, and the modern privileged classes will try to save this philosophy for the same reason—control of the lower classes—that the ancient privileged classes had for encouraging and developing it.

Idealism is an historical episode, and it will end when the class struggle ends, that is, it will end when there is no longer a need for defending material inequality. It is, and always has been, a "ruling class" philosophy, and it is now entirely reactionary. It is antidemocratic, and except as a means of consolation or as an "escape" is now of no value to civilization. However, in capitalistic society this philosophy undoubtedly has the same value that religion has for consoling and comforting very old, ignorant, people who are so steeped in superstition that rational relief is beyond the bounds of probability. (An attempt to change the views of such people on science, philosophy, religion, or magic can be made only at the risk of producing insanity, and probably should not be made. But society must be arranged so that it will not produce ignorant and superstitious people. This, according to the idealists, is impossible, but the materialists insist that it can be done, and will be done when society abandons Idealism and accepts Materialism.)

CHAPTER IX

Supporters of Idealism (Rightists)

Idealism is supported by all elements of society "right of center" on the world political-economic-social-religious scale, but mainly by the following:

1. Those who believe in supernatural intervention in the affairs of man. (These people constitute the strongest force that supports Idealism, and their influence is very great in all capitalistic society. They are mainly very devout or orthodox Christians, Mohammedans, Hindus, and members of the many animistic religions. The leaders of these people are those whose economic security depends mainly on the ability of religious organizations to collect money by promises of supernatural aid and a future life of happiness. The great majority of the people in South America, Africa, and southern Asia are in this group.)
2. The chief owners and employers in capitalistic society.
3. The "uneducated majority." This is the largest class in all capitalistic countries. It is guided in public affairs mainly by emotions and prejudices.
4. Farmers, farm workers, and country people generally. These people attend religious services more often than other people do, and there they hear prayers to a supernatural being for help in their struggle for existence; they hear prayers for rain and other things which require changes in the course of nature, that is, for miracles. They even hear prayers for good prices for their produce, and for many other things of a purely political, economic, or social nature, which may be had if a supernatural being condescends to grant them—and this is considered probable if gifts accompany prayers. In this way they finally become convinced that they are at the mercy of an exacting supernatural being which can aid them,

but will do so only if prayers are offered and gifts are made; that they need supernatural aid in everything, but especially to enable them to contend successfully against "evil" forces; that without this aid they cannot prosper. In short, they learn to believe that the world and its operation are a part of a very mysterious plan of a supernatural being which must be pleased or appeased.

5. The rich generally.

6. Those who believe that an ignorant class is necessary to provide cheap labor. This group realizes that it is less difficult to mislead and exploit ignorant people than educated people, and because of this opposes education generally, and especially an extension of free education.

7. Those who incite, or encourage, dissention among the races and the various elements which constitute the working classes in capitalistic society. This group does this to keep the various working classes of society ranged against each other, so that labor can be bought cheaper, and to provide strikebreakers, intimidators, provocateurs, etc.

8. Those who believe in a "master and subject" race or class theory, and in a caste or class system of society. This group holds that "nature" makes some people superior and others inferior; that because of a mental defect which prevents the absorption of higher learning the "inferior" people cannot be educated to the same extent as the "superior" people. It encourages private charity schemes, begging (including begging "drives" for worthy causes), tipping, and other activities which have a tendency to develop subservient classes, but it opposes any state (public) aid to poor ("inferior") people even to relieve acute suffering. It contends that the poor are merely the "unfit" of society, and therefore entitled only to what gratuities the "fit" (the rich) are willing to give. It quotes the Bible to prove that the poor will always be with us in any case; that this is the "normal" state of things as arranged by God.

9. Those who believe, or pretend to believe, that human nature cannot be changed. This group generally holds that the "masses" are by "nature" stupid and selfish, and therefore time or energy spent trying to improve them or their condition of life is wasted.

10. Those who hold that the "old culture" must be preserved

at all cost; that if a change in the social order has to be made it should be backward to the "good old days" rather than forward to untried and unknown ways. This group holds that all educational systems should be designed chiefly to condition people to survive in, and to be satisfied with, their environment. It holds that one should be contented with his station in life, and not strive to change that station.

11. Those who lack social consciousness or who shun social responsibility.

12. Those who are guided by emotion or prejudice rather than by scientific facts, reason, or common sense.

13. Those who believe that faith, belief, or intuition are better guides to action than experience.

14. Those who believe that women should be hedged about with restrictions, and kept in an inferior position to men; that women should not have political, economic, social, or religious freedom to the same extent as men. This group believes that women should have a higher moral code than men, and that "woman's place is in the home." It always opposes divorce.

15. Those who believe that parents have a moral right to force their children to work, even in competition with adults, to support, or help support, the parents. This group opposes child labor laws, and insists that the state should not concern itself with child welfare; that child welfare should be left entirely to parents, guardians, or private institutions. It holds that children have almost no legal, ethical, or moral rights, and fosters the belief that children must suffer for the "sins" and shortcomings of their parents.

16. Those who believe that hospitals, orphanages, old people's homes, etc. should be privately owned and operated.

17. Those who oppose scientific practice of medicine, and contend that "nature," miracles, faith, or "mind" (thought, suggestion, imagination, etc.), will cure all, or at least nearly all, diseases. This group includes all those who oppose vaccination, inoculation, immunization, vivisection and other modern scientific practices connected with the prevention and cure of diseases, and with scientific medical research generally. (Most members of this group are in

the "lunatic fringe" of society, and they do not knowingly aid Idealism.)

18. Those who oppose, or do not believe in, socialized medicine. That is, these people are against medicine as practiced by the various government public health services, armies, navies, etc. They insist on the private practice of medicine only, and believe the state should not interest itself in the health of the nation, except to enforce standards of medical practice which doctors, themselves in private practice, set up.

19. Those who oppose government guaranteed or sponsored social or economic security, that is, security against the needs of old age, illness, accidents, unemployment, etc.

20. Those who believe in, or profess to believe in, a metaphysical or theological conception of history, and reject science theories of history or evolution. This group includes all metaphysicians, astrologers, spiritualists, "mystics," prophets claiming supernatural powers, etc., and all believers in the work or theories of such people.

21. The Aged generally.

22. The grossly ignorant. This group includes those who are not only illiterate, but who also are so ignorant and superstitious that they blindly follow orders or advice given to them by religious leaders because of fear of punishment in the hereafter if they ignore such orders or advice. These people put religious faith above scientific fact if a choice must be made, and they include all believers in "faith healers," shrine "cures," miracles, etc.

23. Those who contend that God causes good times and bad times to reward or punish humans, and that all evils, including wars, unseasonable deaths, pestilences, famines, droughts, floods, storms, depressions, etc., are manifestations of God's displeasure with human actions and thoughts. (This group encourages superstitious beliefs, and profits by taking advantage of the superstitions, prejudices, and emotions of ignorant people.)

24. Those who believe in a wrathful, jealous, anthropomorphic, or any other kind of paganistic, god. Many members of this group contend or admit that they fear one or more gods.

25. Those who believe in, or profess to believe in, religion of the "great reward and horrible punishment in the hereafter" type.

26. Those who foster the idea that the poor, because of their hard life on earth, will be rewarded in the hereafter, if they are "good" in this life. ("Good" in this case, however, only means conformity with the ethics of the period and locality.)

27. The Fundamentalists. That is, those who believe in miracles, that a supernatural being answers prayers, that God caused His only son to die to save the world from sin, that Adam was the first man, that man is "born in sin" because Adam sinned, that the Bible is the literal word of God, etc. This group holds to the religious beliefs, traditions, customs, dogmas, etc., of "pre-modern" times, and it requests and expects supernatural aid in private and public affairs.

28. Those who believe that religion should be combined with politics, economics, and sociology.

29. Those who believe that all property owned by religious organizations should be free from taxation.

30. Those who believe that religion should be taught to children in public and private schools.

31. Those who prefer parochial (religious sect) schools to state (public) schools, or who favor state support of parochial school activities.

32. Those who believe in an "eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" criminal code. This group holds that it is more important to punish criminals than it is to eliminate conditions within society which produce criminals. It contends that some people are "by nature" bad.

33. Those who foster the idea that wars are caused by a "natural" desire of young men to want to fight.

34. Those who believe that wars are necessary and desirable, mainly to stimulate business in capitalistic society, and are unavoidable, but that revolutions are not necessary or desirable and should be suppressed.

35. Those who believe that "divine right" or hereditary rulers are still necessary or desirable.

36. Those who believe that a permanent dictatorship by an individual or small group is necessary or desirable. This group holds that even within a "democracy" a small minority—a ruling class—should control the government. It points out that the gods (rulers of

the heavens, the most desirable, and presumably the best governed, places) of all the great organized religions are not elected presidents, but on the contrary are permanent dictators. It follows, according to this group, that a permanent dictator could give a nation, a country, or the entire world, the best possible government.

37. Those who believe that government should be in the hands of military men. This group generally favors military conscription of men, but not of money, for war.

38. Those who oppose a world federation or union of states, such for example as the United Nations.

39. Those who would avoid foreign political commitments of any kind. This group believes in "isolationism."

40. Those who favor the political appointive ("spoils") system for filling government (public) positions instead of a civil service ("merit") system.

41. Politicians and professional people generally in capitalistic countries.

42. Those who consider money superior to ethics. That is, those whose interest in money, or material gain of any kind, is so great that they ignore the ethical aspects of their employment. (Newspaper writers who "shade" their articles, without regard for the truth, to fit the policies of their employers or the wishes of their readers are the most outstanding examples of this group, and the percentage of such writers is very high—possibly as high as fifty per cent.)

43. Those who oppose short working hours for workers. This group generally opposes labor unions and labor leaders.

44. Those who believe, or contend, that they help others by helping themselves; that their efforts to make profits for themselves by exploiting others actually aid the exploited. This group fosters "individualism" in the worst meaning of the word.

45. Those who believe that property rights are more important than human rights. This group does not believe that the state should tax even the very rich to feed starving people.

46. Those who oppose public ownership of public utilities.

47. Those who oppose an extension of public ownership or control of the monetary and credit system.

48. Those who believe that a competitive (private enterprise) economic system is best for a country. (That is, this group believes in a "production for profit" rather than a "production for use" economic system.)

49. Those who believe that the natural resources and means of production and distribution of a country should be privately owned. This group believes that government should not engage in any business or industry as long as the particular business or industry can be operated privately at a profit. It readily concedes, however, that government may own and operate public utility systems, necessary for the operation of the capitalistic system, when private enterprise cannot operate them at a profit.

50. Those who believe that democracy is impossible without a competitive economic system; that where a socialistic society exists there can be no democracy.

PART TWO

MATERIALISM

CHAPTER X

Ancient Materialism

Materialism is based on the theory that matter (material) is primary and that mind (thought) is secondary, and is so named because of this. Materialism is the opposite of Idealism, and it opposes Idealism in every field of thought and action. Materialism originated in ancient Greece and was developed there by many philosophers, the greatest of whom undoubtedly were Thales, Anaximander, Heraclitus, Protagoras, Anaxagoras, Democritus, and Epicurus.

The earliest known materialist philosophy may properly be called dynamic and constant-change Materialism. This philosophy arose about the seventh century B.C. because of conflict which had begun in Greece between a rising merchant class and great landowners, and was developed to its highest extent mainly by Anaximander, Heraclitus, and Protagoras. It was based on the assumption, probably of Anaximander, that the universe is unlimited unity (the whole); that out of this unity opposites emerge and contend and thus upset the equilibrium of the unity; that the equilibrium is reestablished when necessary in accordance with the ordering process of time by the breaking and reforming of the equilibrium. This was considered by Anaximander to be the "tide of historical process."

Heraclitus and other philosophers who developed dynamic and constant-change Materialism contended that the universe always was; that it was not made; that there was no beginning; that all things change because of struggle; that change has always been

going on due to its own laws, which are within the universe itself. These philosophers contended that change is the only permanent thing in the universe; that the laws of change can be found in the sciences, and nowhere else; that the universe follows its own laws and changes because of these laws which are as follows:

1. Change. All things change, and change comes about because of a clash of opposites within the unity as a whole. This clash causes all motion.

2. Struggle. All things come into being and change because of struggle. And this is in accordance with the laws of struggle and necessity (clash of opposites). Nothing can come to be or pass away without struggle, and there is no progress without struggle.

3. Harmony (visible and invisible). Visible (apparent) harmony is the equilibrium, which may be relatively stable or unstable. The visible harmony is transitory—a temporary equilibrium such as a constitution or agreement that exists only for a time then gives way to change. The invisible harmony is greater than the visible harmony and is the inner tension within the process which causes all things. The inner tension is the permanent law—the explanation—of change. (A relatively stable equilibrium is, of course, actually unstable. It is dynamic and it develops tension within itself, according to this theory.)

Heraclitus held that the only justice is struggle; that strife is the justice of things. He considered change as self-explanatory, and thought that everything came from fire. He said that fire is the primary element, and that the other elements are vapor (he possibly meant air or breath), water, and earth. (Thales, who was a great scientist as well as a philosopher, had said that the primary element is water, probably because he had been impressed by the Nile river. He had visited Egypt and no doubt got many of his scientific and philosophical ideas there. He concluded that an "inner push" within an original substance separated things out of this substance, but he rejected absolutely all theories of a "divine" creation of things and all supernaturalisms. There were no idealistic tendencies, or mysticisms of any kind whatever, in his ideas on the universe.)

Heraclitus held that an infinite number of opposites within the whole (universe) are in constant struggle (conflict); that this

struggle is at one level; that two opposites compose a system of opposites, and that these two opposites balance each other. He held that opposites are equals; that no opposite is superior to, or is subordinated to, another opposite. (This is different from the theory of Pythagoras which puts one of the opposites, in a system of two opposites, on a "higher" level than the other.)

Heraclitus mentioned the elements as "flaming up and dying down," the "way up and the way down," with each element "coming into being on the death of the other" (last one). Life of one element was to him the death of another. For example, he thought that the "life" of water was the "death" of fire. (The "qualitative" change idea which was developed by materialist philosophers in the nineteenth century is based on this general idea.)

Heraclitus held that entirely new things are made from old things, but from his time until the nineteenth century no philosophy was advanced that held a similar view. (Karl Marx then made this idea a part of "Marxism.") Heraclitus was a great scientist of his time, but neither his philosophy nor his science had much influence after 450 B.C., because idealist philosophy which was supported by the ruling and owning classes prevented his ideas from reaching the public generally.

Dynamic and constant-change Materialism was the philosophy of early Athenian democracy, the most progressive political order of ancient times. This democracy was made possible, and began, as a result of the influence of materialistic thought that emerged in Greece in opposition to Idealism, the philosophy of the aristocracy. (Athenian democracy was supported by all the "democrats" of Greece, including especially the materialistic philosophers, the scientists, and the mercantile class, the most progressive large class of all antiquity—and it always strongly opposed the aristocrats. This democracy supported all science and all business—especially trading with distant peoples—and in this way greatly aided the advance of civilization. It was so far ahead of other political systems that a more progressive form of government did not emerge until more than two thousand years had passed. The democrats of Greece owned slaves, and held that slavery was necessary in any society if progress was to be made, therefore were quite reactionary if judged by modern

standards. However, in ancient times it was necessary for even the most progressive thinkers, believers in democracy, to defend slavery. Civilization would not have advanced nearly as fast as it did in Greece had not slavery been accepted by the Greek democrats. These democrats, however, treated their slaves in a comparatively fair and humane manner. These slaves had many rights and privileges that no other slaves ever had, and they enjoyed more freedom than the great majority of the non-slave peoples of Europe, during the Middle Ages, did for many generations. Many of these slaves were highly educated people such as scientists, teachers, and philosophers who taught the young of their masters and even the masters themselves. It is clear that many millions of "free" people lived and died in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries without ever having enjoyed as much freedom as the slaves of the democrats of Greece had. On the other hand, the slaves of the aristocrats of Greece, which included the great landowners, and other non-democratic Greeks such as the Spartans, were treated with extreme cruelty.)

Dynamic and constant-change Materialism was taught by the early Sophists, the educators of rising democratic Athens. These Sophists were the first thinkers of democracy, and the first teachers of progressive theories to the general public. They taught public speaking, writing, natural science, and other things that public men in the most advanced parts of Greece in the early fifth century B.C. needed. They, in this way, educated the people of Athens in the principles of enlightened thought and progress, and laid the foundation of all democracy, that is, of government by exchange of ideas and opinions rather than by force.

The Sophists arose because the democrats of Athens wanted to know how to speak convincingly in public on political and social matters from a progressive viewpoint, and would pay for this information. At this time the political situation in Athens was such that a man without wealth could be influential in politics if he could speak well and impress people with his ideas and logic.

The teachings of the Sophists were materialistic and tended to make men lose their faith in Greek gods and in the value of supernaturalism. The Sophists taught that in the development of civilization, men, not gods, were important. They said that man knows

nothing about gods; that "man is the measure of all things." Protagoras, a Greek materialist philosopher, was one of the earliest and greatest of the Sophists. He contended that all things change, and by using this idea as a base started important developments in political and social philosophy. He said that all our institutions and conventions are relative to our needs; that the test for the good of things depends on human purposes and needs. These ideas were developed and expanded to include all human relations, and they formed the base of all of the teachings of the early Sophists.

Protagoras was a great humanitarian, and he worked hard for progress all of his life. But his enemies accused him of being a democrat (an ordinary citizen and not an aristocrat), an atheist (a person having a low opinion of some religious beliefs of the day), a Persian or a friend of the Persians (a foreigner or a friend of foreigners), and finally burned his books. Under his leadership, however, the Sophists greatly advanced democratic principles and procedure in Athens.

From dynamic and constant-change Materialism the Sophists developed "relativist" philosophy, a materialistic system which contended that all situations are relative; that every institution is responsible to the system which supports it; that customs are based only on conventions, and conventions depend on human purposes and needs. This philosophy eventually split into two parts as follows: 1. Historical relativism (relationism), a materialistic philosophy which was developed mainly by Protagoras. 2. Subjective relativism, an idealistic philosophy which was developed mainly by Critias, an important Sophist who finally became an extreme "right-wing" reactionary. After this split, the influence of Protagoras waned, and Critias then led the Sophists away from democratic principles to autocratic principles. Critias eventually developed a reactionary idealistic philosophy which held that small, rich and well-to-do groups must organize for protection against demands and desires of the poor. He then said that if a situation does not contribute to "your-my" (our) personal well being we should change it so that it will; that if we are strong enough and clever enough we can change conditions to suit ourselves; that people should not strive for the greatest good for the greatest number, but for themselves alone; that it is right and proper to change things to suit "us." (In short, Critias held that there was

no truth but "my subjective truth.") As a result of this line of reasoning by Critias and his followers the Sophists became known as deceivers, and they then lost the confidence and respect of the democrats and all other progressives.

About the middle of the fifth century B.C. dynamic and constant-change Materialism lost its dominant influence, and Athenian progress reached its highest point—the Periclean period—under the influence of a new philosophy which was founded by Anaxagoras, the greatest philosopher of the period. This new philosophy, an idealistic Materialism, rationalized the universe by a system of "levels." From the "lowest" upward, these levels were as follows:

1. Mind. This was the first of all things of the universe, and it started everything else whirling. (This is the first attempt on the part of a great philosopher to introduce "first cause"—a very important part of all "true" religions—into philosophy, and was the strongest idealistic content of this philosophy. Anaxagoras in this way strengthened the connection between philosophy and religion which had been greatly weakened by dynamic and constant-change Materialism.)

2. Chaos. This was next after mind. It was without form and it resembled grayish colors on a palette. It was passive and mind set it whirling like milk in a cream separator.

3. Whirl (also called "vortex" and "eddy"). This was the material universe in motion. It was the "spinning" of the chaos—a pushing away action on the cream separator principle. This produced a change in quantity, but not in quality, of things. (The "whirl" is a materialistic idea and it was used here in an attempt to make this philosophy a compromise between Idealism and Materialism. In an effort to dramatize the "whirl" idea, Anaxagoras said, "vortex is king, he has driven out Zeus." By this he meant that a materialistic, or naturalistic, theory had displaced a supernatural theory as the best explanation of the universe.)

4. Polarization. After the chaos began whirling (spinning), opposites (hot and cold, white and black, hard and soft, sweet and bitter, etc.) emerged from the chaos and went to opposite poles. (This situation continues throughout the universe, according to this philosophy.) The opposites, which Anaxagoras called qualities, are

not necessarily absolutely pure, however. For example, the white may have a little black in it. (These opposites are not forces.)

5. Seeds. There were, and had to be, seeds of everything, including stars, humans, trees, cities, ships, etc., that ever came to be, in the universe at the very beginning, that is, in the chaos, therefore nothing is, or can be, new. (Anaxagoras held that nothing new ever comes into being; that what appear to be new things are only redistributions of old things; that there is no change in quality.)

6. Atoms. These form the base of all material things. (This was the "highest" level, and it was the strongest materialist content of this philosophy.)

The philosophy of Anaxagoras was an attempt to devise a system of thought which would be acceptable to both the idealists and the materialists, who were in violent conflict, struggling to control the advanced thought of Athens, then by far the greatest center of progressive thought in the world. (This struggle between idealists and materialists for supremacy is duplicated today, but it is now on a very much greater scale than it was in ancient Athens. Actually, the contestants are now fighting for control of all thought of every kind in the world, rather than for the advanced thought in only one state. Now, however, practically all, if not all, philosophers agree that there is no possibility of devising a philosophy which will be acceptable to both the idealists and the materialists. That is, at least nearly all of the great modern thinkers agree that the difference between Idealism and Materialism is not reconcilable, and probably none of them hope to resolve this difference. This is an important development in reasoning power, and is one of the best evidences of advancement in philosophical thinking since the fifth century B.C.)

This idealistic Materialism allowed for slow and small change, and was much more progressive than any form of Idealism, but it was not nearly as progressive as the dynamic and constant-change Materialism that it displaced. Because it was designed to produce an agreement or at least a compromise of some kind between two diametrically opposite schools of thought it had little chance for success; however, it was in harmony with the political policies of Pericles, the head of the Athenian state, and probably because of this

it became the dominant philosophy of Athens. (Pericles was opposed to dynamic and constant-change philosophy, probably for personal reasons. There was at least some danger that this kind of philosophy would change the head of the state before he wished to retire. Pericles was a progressive, and therefore a believer in change, but he did not want it to be rapid or much at a time. He wanted to keep change under control, and for this reason favored a philosophy which was not based on the theory that change is dynamic and constant.)

This philosophy met the needs of, and was accepted by, a comparatively small group of liberal compromisers who especially favored the political, economic, social, and religious policies of Pericles, but most thinkers rejected it. Because of this it split into two quite different parts—one idealistic and the other materialistic. Socrates, who had been a pupil of Anaxagoras, took the idealistic (mind) part and Democritus took the materialistic (atoms, whirl, seeds, etc.) part. These parts then moved in opposite directions, and from the atoms element of the materialistic part Democritus founded a comparatively static materialist philosophy, which contained no supernatural element whatever.

Democritus developed a philosophy based on the "atomic" theory, and was the first great philosopher to do so. His theory held that everything in the universe was "atoms" and "void"; that atoms of different shapes and sizes falling forever in a void, bumping against and attaching themselves to one another, produced the universe; that the atoms were "hooked and jagged" like "vinegar," "smooth" like "olive oil," round, large, small, etc., and fell at different speeds. Democritus did not advance any theory as to where the atoms started from or to where they were going, except possibly that they were falling "down." (Basically, this is a gravitational idea.)

Democritus drew heavily on the philosophy of Heraclitus, but did not accept the part of that philosophy which holds that new things are made out of old things. He did not concede that there was, or could be, anything really new, but rather implied that what appear to be new things are really old things (atoms) redistributed in a different way. He had many followers who developed his philosophy, and it spread extensively over Greece and Rome, but it had little or

no influence after the beginning of the Christian era, because of the much greater influence of Idealism, and soon thereafter disappeared. However, it was discovered by materialistic philosophers of the Renaissance period, and ever since then has been of great interest and value to materialists.

Epicurus, a materialistic philosopher, founded Epicureanism, a philosophy which held that the universe is infinite, and consists of matter (an infinite number of atoms) and space (void); that nothing can be created or destroyed; that everything comes into being because of atoms falling in a void from "eternity to eternity"; that all of the atoms fall at the same rate of speed and that most of them fall in a straight line, but some change their courses because of "chance" (some unknown cause of things not subject to calculation); that "chance" causes atoms to swerve and bump against one another, and in this way changes things. This philosophy held that this action produced the universe, and produces all changes in things. (This idea is idealistic as it does not account for change, or redistribution, except by something on the order of miracles. It is a "free will" idea, and it is based on a theory which holds that at the heart, or center, of things there is "chance." Epicurus, in this way, introduced "free will" of atoms, and possibly of everything else, into philosophy. This is the base from which the "Free Will" theory in Idealism was developed.)

Epicurus held that no gods were necessary, but he thought that they existed. He believed that the strange "experiences," such as dreams, "visions," etc., which man had, but could not understand or account for, indicated the existence of gods. He did not, however, believe that they had anything to do with man or nature, except to set an example for man to follow. He thought that they were so big and powerful that nothing in man or nature could contend against them, but he held that they always remained away from the earth and never took any interest whatever in anything on earth. He held that no god could make anything out of nothing; that no thing can come from nothing by divine decree.

Epicurus said that the only test for the good in anything is the intensity and duration of the pleasure it produces; that the only reason why men act (do things) is to obtain pleasure or to avoid pain; that

all men do the things that give them ego satisfaction. He said that the quiet, simple pleasures of the intellect and the arts are the best pleasures.

Epicureanism in its early period was used mainly to meet the needs of frustrated Greek progressives who were depressed because of the failure of a great civilization that they had built. Its proponents, mainly the merchant class of Greece, then accepted a measure of social responsibility. Later, however, during the decline of Greek and Roman civilization when pessimism became very strong and optimism had practically disappeared throughout the Greek and Roman world, its proponents, who by this time included the merchant class of the Roman Empire, shunned social responsibility and held that the only sensible course for man to follow was to seek pleasure.

The final effort of ancient Materialism was a Roman intellectual movement directed toward freeing man from superstition and supernaturalism, but mainly from fear of the supernatural. This movement was inspired, and probably led, by Lucretius, the last great materialist philosopher of the ancient world, and it was supported by many Roman leaders, including Julius Caesar, but it ended at about the beginning of the Christian era. (The early Christian "Church Fathers," and their more zealous followers, eventually utterly crushed out all remnants of this movement. They did this because they wanted to use "fear of the hereafter" as a means to strengthen their conception of Christianity. Church leaders, in the Dark Ages, made "fear of torture in the hereafter" the most effective device of Christianity, and they used it to great advantage to strengthen their political and economic positions. They then did not tolerate any idea which had any tendency toward freeing man from fear, unless the idea strengthened the Church politically or economically.)

Lucretius was the greatest Roman philosopher and probably the deepest thinker of ancient times. He believed that fear of the hereafter was the worst evil to which man was subjected, and held that the gods and all other supernaturalisms should be banished from the world in order that man could be freed from the fear that they engendered. He thought of the atomic theory of Democritus, and others, as a scientific weapon to use against fear of supernaturalisms and superstition. His account of King Agamemnon's campaign

against Troy indicates his thoughts on religion. He tells how the priests made the king offer his daughter as a sacrifice to the gods to insure success of the venture; of how the executioners hid their swords so as to save the king's feelings; of how the daughter, who was of the age to be married, was taken to the altar, not to be married, but to be murdered for religion.

Lucretius probably tried harder than anyone else in ancient times to free the world from supernaturalism, superstition, and fear. He tried to free man from mental pain of every kind, but especially that caused by religion. His compassion for the victims of mental suffering caused by religion extended even to the lower animals, and he had no sympathy whatever for those responsible for this suffering. For example, his sympathy on the occasion of the sacrifice of a calf was for the cow that had lost her young and would not be comforted. He had no sympathy or respect for the worshipers, who had the calf killed, or for the gods who required the sacrifice. He tells of the cow lowing for her calf, which it could not find. Diminutives of affection and compassion, like this one, run through his works.

Lucretius believed so strongly that man must believe the evidence of his senses that he felt that there were gods. Man had "seen" gods in his sleep (dreams), in visions, etc. The gods seemed to be in the skies, especially at night, and the sun, moon, planets, stars, comets, meteors, clouds, lightning, thunder, storms, etc., seemed to indicate the existence of gods. Lucretius believed just as Epicurus did, that the function of the gods was to set an example for man to follow. He held that gods did not aid or influence man in any other way. His philosophy was a materialistic "flash in the pan" of the rising Roman mercantile class (the progressive side of the ruling class), and Lucretius himself may have been the spokesman for this class. But his philosophy gave way to Stoicism, and all materialistic philosophy of antiquity ended soon afterwards. (From about the beginning of the Christian era until about the sixteenth century the only philosophy taught anywhere in the world was Idealism.)

Materialism is a philosophy of material equality, and it failed in the ancient world because of this. It arose to challenge Idealism, and to champion the cause of material equality, before civilization had advanced to the stage at which equality in material things was

possible. Material equality is not possible within a society based on slavery, and because of the way civilization developed slavery was necessary for progress in the ancient world. Therefore, the ancients had no choice but to abandon Materialism as being incompatible with existing and necessary conditions, and return to Idealism, a "class" philosophy well suited to champion both slavery and material inequality. (When feudal society displaced slave society, Idealism was modified to serve the new order. But in the seventeenth century Materialism again arose to challenge Idealism, and because civilization was then approaching the stage at which material equality was possible it was partially successful. The capitalists then found Materialism better suited to their needs than Idealism, mainly because Materialism opposed and weakened the Roman Church, which was then opposing capitalism. This situation was changed—almost completely reversed—in the nineteenth century, because by this time the capitalists had begun to fear Materialism, and capitalism had won the full support of this Church. The capitalists then began to desert Materialism in favor of Idealism, which had been adapted to serve capitalist society after it had displaced feudal society. Early in the twentieth century Idealism displaced Materialism as the champion of capitalism, and at present only the more progressive capitalists—a small minority—are materialists. The conservative and reactionary capitalists have adopted Idealism, and are basing their hopes for the survival of capitalism on this philosophy.)

CHAPTER XI

The Renaissance and the Revival of Materialistic Thought

The long "Dark Ages" which followed the break-up of the Roman Empire were finally ended by the Renaissance, a great intellectual revolution. This revolution was made possible by the "age of doubt" which weakened faith in Roman Church doctrines, and it was led by materialistic philosophers and scientists. These thinkers, all of whom had doubts about Church doctrines and methods were forced, however, because of fear of persecution by the Church, to remain more or less "underground" until well after Copernicus, in the sixteenth century, advanced a theory which held that the universe was very much larger, and quite different in shape and operation from the universe as described by the Church. But they finally became bolder, and early in the seventeenth century they began to advance openly materialistic theories of the universe. These theories were entirely contrary to Church doctrines, and they undermined the Church. From this time on the ability of the Church to control the thoughts of man has become progressively weaker. The "age of doubt," therefore, can be considered the "winter" (a dormant period) during which the seed of something new in human progress was germinated.

During the latter part of the Dark Ages the Church taught, and the people believed, that man was a very special creation, the greatest and noblest work of God; that God was so keenly interested in man that He made ("willed" into existence) the earth, sun, moon, planets, stars, etc.,—actually the entire visible universe—mainly, if not solely, for the use and pleasure of man; that the planets and stars were only tiny specks of light being whirled about for man to enjoy while he stood on a flat, motionless earth, the largest thing visible to him. God's will caused all of this, and this will was the supreme law—

the cause and the ruler of everything—according to the Church. This teaching made man think of God's will as being all important in the scheme of things. It also made man think of himself, and especially his will, as being very important, as he was considered second only to God. But during the early stages of the Renaissance Copernicus, Galileo, Kepler, Newton, and other scientists showed that the planets were very large bodies of material, some larger than the earth, and that man was only a tiny speck being whirled about on one of the smaller planets. Man then began to have serious doubts about his position and role in the universe, and eventually began to think of himself as of little importance. These doubts and thoughts were generally concealed at first, but after the Renaissance began to develop into a great progressive force, and man cast off some of his fear of the Church, he began to express his opinions. From then both God's will and man's will began to give way to nature and science. Mechanistic law, based on mathematics, then began to take the place of Church law.

The progress made early in the Renaissance paved the way for a progressive philosophy based on natural law (nature) and science. Many thinkers, but especially the materialistic philosophers and the scientists, took advantage of the situation to combat long standing, and firmly established, idealistic doctrines, mainly those sponsored by the Roman Church. These thinkers then contended that angels, saints, devils, imps, wizards, witches, spirits, ghosts, dragons, cockatrices, miracles, and nearly all other things connected with mysticism, exist merely as ideas which were developed in the "childhood" of the human race, and are unworthy of belief or serious consideration by "modern" men. However, these thinkers considered a god, or a "first cause" of some kind, necessary to make the universe and start it moving, or at least to start it moving, and therefore were not atheists. They did not in any way attempt to "prove" that gods do not exist. On the contrary, they held that from the standpoint of both philosophy and science the position of dogmatic atheists is the same as that of dogmatic theists; that both groups are in untenable positions. They held that there is no evidence, that would stand the test of science, that a god either exists or does not exist, therefore, there is no reason to try to prove that a god does not exist; that no more

is to be gained in the search for truth by advancing a theory that a god does not exist than there is by advancing one that a god does exist. However, these thinkers held that until there is some evidence that a god exists, the burden of proof is on the theists; that until the theists produce some evidence of the existence of a god, which science may consider valid, the subject is of no practical value to progress.

Within a short time after these advances in philosophy and science were made, courageous political leaders who were strong enough to take a successful stand against Church control of the state emerged. The Reformation then began, and it gave the Roman Church a shattering blow. This Church then lost control over the thoughts and actions of progressive minded people. Nearly all of these people joined a reformist (protest) movement within the Roman Church, eventually broke away from this Church, and founded churches of their own. In this way they established Protestantism, a form of Christianity which contains a more progressive philosophy than the Roman Church ever contained in its long history, and although they split into many different sects all of them became known as Protestants.

During the Reformation the Protestants were the progressives in all fields. This was just as true in politics, economics, and sociology as it was in religion. The Protestants opposed all reactionary aspects of feudalism and organized their forces for a long struggle—mainly one of attacks on feudalism, but also of defense against extermination by the Inquisition, a drastic counter-revolution against all progressive movements and ideas, which the Roman Church had started during the "age of doubt."

In the early stages of the Reformation it was generally believed that Roman Catholicism and Protestantism could not exist side by side; that either all Roman Catholics or all Protestants would have to be killed, and wars of extermination were constantly fought between these people. In these wars, which continued for more than a century, the Roman Catholics were supported by all supporters of the old ideology, feudalism, and the Protestants were supported by all proponents of the new ideology, capitalism. As a consequence of this, the struggle became the most important part of the over-all conflict between feudalism and capitalism. That is, it became the

most important factor in, and inseparable from, the ideological contest—the struggle between the old, declining, ideology and the new, rising, ideology. Not until after many millions of people had been killed and whole countries laid in ruins did these terrible wars cease. (A similar situation exists today, which may lead to an all-out war between capitalism and socialism. Many people do not believe that these ideologies can exist side by side, and feel that one ideology or the other must be destroyed. The only basis for this belief, however, is emotion and prejudice. Capitalism and socialism can exist side by side, just as feudalism and capitalism finally did—after the wars of extermination ended. After the people of the Renaissance period rejected war as a way to solve their ideological problems, feudalism and capitalism existed side by side for generations. As a result of this capitalism absorbed all the socially advantageous aspects of feudalism in such a manner that the intelligent and progressive proponents of feudalism were able to adjust themselves to the new order with a minimum of difficulty. The proponents of capitalism are now in a position to profit by this precedent, and will do so if intelligent leadership prevails.)

The Renaissance was a revolt against feudalism, and especially against the dogma and "blind faith" in "authority" which the feudal system upheld. It began the break-up of medieval society, and the emergence of the modern world. It was led by the most progressive thinkers of the period, and this circumstance forced it to proceed in a pro-materialistic, pro-scientific, direction. Its political, economic, social, and religious development was as follows:

1. Political. Break-up of the Holy Roman Empire and the rise of nationalism began. National kings, forming absolute, centralized, monarchies, began to contend against pope and emperor. These monarchies began to take over political power from the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church. During the early stages of this period the "divine right of kings" political-religious theory was developed, mainly by materialistic philosophers who supported the rising and progressive mercantile class, to aid the rising kings. These philosophers contended that the people got their rights directly from kings and that the kings got their rights directly from God, and not from the pope, the emperor, or both. This was then a very progressive

theory, and the merchants, traders, and businessmen generally, all over Europe, supported it because it was to their advantage to deal directly with local kings, rather than with agents of the pope, a procedure which was not feasible unless people believed that kings got their rights directly from God. (The pope always strongly opposed the "divine right of kings" theory because it weakened his political and economic position.) In the early stages of this struggle in England, a king (Henry VII) was opposed by the barons as well as by the pope, and because of this situation was not able to break the ties which held England under the political authority of the Roman Catholic Church. However, the king was so strongly supported, mainly by merchants and small landowners, as a ruler by "divine right" that he was able to defy the pope in most matters. (In the later stages of this struggle the interests of the classes that contended that kings ruled by "divine right" changed, and the same classes that used the theory of "divine right" to strengthen the position of Henry VII executed Charles I for believing in this theory!)

During the later stages of this period, materialistic philosophers developed the social contract (compact) theory to support the right of the people to dethrone their kings. This theory held that early (pre-historic) people got together and made an agreement for the general safety and well being of them all. It is based on the supposition, or belief, that early men as individuals, with absolute freedom of individual action, and no law to hold them to account, killed one another off for little or no reason; that they finally decided it was necessary to have a leader and got one by agreement. That is, they then formed the tribe, the first political-social organization above the family level. (This idea of political development probably is mythical. Historically there was no contract or agreement of any kind. The strongest man probably was the first leader in all tribal society. However, all modern government is based on the social contract theory.)

During the Renaissance the chief question as regards the social contract was this: Was the original agreement which eventually resulted in the formation of the state made between the people and the leader, or only among the people themselves? This question was considered by all the great philosophers of Europe during the seven-

teenth century, and it greatly influenced English politics, then the most advanced in the world. The Tories (the conservatives and reactionaries of the period) said that the agreement was made between the people and the leader, and therefore it was not proper for the people to revolt against their king under any circumstance. But the Whigs (the liberals and progressives of the period) said that it was made only among the people themselves, and therefore the people had a right to change kings whenever they wished; that it was right and proper to revolt against a bad or unwanted king if he did not abdicate.

Thomas Hobbes, the most influential philosopher who supported the Tory viewpoint, said that every man is a sovereign, but each man should surrender, into a social contract, some part of his sovereignty and must keep the contract; that man must not, under any condition or circumstance, revolt (break the contract). (Hobbes was a progressive, but not in this instance as he supported the "divine right of kings" idea after it had become reactionary.)

John Locke agreed with the Tories on the formation of the social contract, but said that it should be broken by the people if the leader did not keep his part of it; that a revolt of the people against bad government is always proper if the government will not voluntarily surrender its power. (During the American Revolution all of the revolutionary leaders adopted the Whig theory of the social contract. But after the Revolution had been won, and a republican form of government had been established, some of these leaders said that it was not proper to revolt against the new government. These men did not concede that they had changed their basic position as regards revolt against bad government which could not be changed by the people in any other way. They held that the laws of the republic which had been established provided for change of leaders by peaceful means, by periodic elections and by admendments to a constitution, presumably by the will of the people, while the government of an obstinate king could be changed only by revolt.)

2. Economic. Struggle began between manorial (local) production and commodity (trading) production. Trade between distant areas was necessary mainly because civilization had reached the stage where many things were needed on the feudal estates which

could not be produced there. (Salt, spices, and iron were among the many things needed, but which usually were not to be had except by means of trade with distant peoples.) Finally, during the later stages of the Renaissance, manorial production became relatively unimportant, and the struggle resolved itself into one between commodity production and mercantilism, an economic system based on the theory that money is more important to a nation than goods, and therefore more goods must be sold than bought so that a "favorable trade balance" can be established.

The long established system of producing income by lending money at interest, relatively unimportant before the emergence of capitalism, came into conflict, during this period, with the very old feudal system of collecting money through land holdings. The lending system, which resulted in the establishment of banks and was then greatly expanded, was developed mainly by Jews who allied themselves with the Protestant forces. This system greatly aided capitalism, as it made money readily available for all manner of private enterprises, and immediately became very popular with progressive businessmen. It, however, was strongly opposed by the Roman Church because it undermined the existing economic order, which this Church controlled, and therefore weakened the economic power of this Church. (Before the Renaissance, the Roman Church controlled all money, as well as every other device used by Christians in the economy of Europe, through interpretations of the Bible, which was not available in the language of laymen. Because of this, Wycliffe led a protest movement within the Church, which developed mainly because businessmen wanted a Bible they could read so that they could compare its economic theories with those the priests expounded. Against strong Church objection, Wycliffe had the Bible translated into English for this purpose long before the Renaissance, but his movement was kept within small limits, and was finally crushed out by the Inquisition.)

In all areas where the Protestants became dominant, society began to move from feudalism to capitalism. The philosophy of capitalism at this time was based on "individualism," an "every man for himself and no mercy for the unsuccessful" economic theory. It was one of competition only, and it did not provide for cooperation

within the economic field. It was strongly mechanistic in that it held that society is only a collection of individuals in total and permanent conflict for existence, and that only the fittest (strongest) survive. That is, it considered human society only a clash (struggle) of mechanical units, each of which is fighting for survival and to better its own condition, in utter disregard of the consequences to any other unit. It considered this condition natural, just, and proper, and one that benefits all who deserve to be benefited. It was thus a philosophy of the strong, and it gave them a tremendous advantage over the weak. Actually it left the weak always at the mercy of the strong. By modern standards of conduct this kind of philosophy would be considered anti-social, and even cruel, but it met the needs of the early capitalists. (This was the first philosophy of capitalism. It was developed by materialistic philosophers to aid the capitalists who had just begun to launch their great attack on all the forces of the feudal system. The enemies of capitalism were then very strong and apparently a drastic economic theory was considered necessary to insure the success of capitalism. In any case, this philosophy was adopted by the capitalists, and it resulted in extreme hardships for the workers and their dependents. However, it greatly aided all of the stronger capitalists, and eliminated the weaker ones, and undoubtedly contributed largely to the victory over feudalism. After this victory was assured, opposition to this theory began to develop, and eventually it was modified, mainly as a result of the efforts of Adam Smith, the chief philosopher of eighteenth century capitalism. Smith held that if every individual acts in his own best interest the best interests of all will be served. He thus did not accept the cynical implication of the original theory of capitalism that in competition some do not deserve to succeed, and therefore are doomed to fail. He held that in competition all will be benefited, at least to some extent, and none will be hurt. This general idea was accepted by early United States capitalists as the correct theory of capitalistic competition, and it is still a generally held theory of United States capitalism.)

During this period protection of property rights, mainly against seizure by political power, became an absolute necessity for the success of capitalism, Protestantism, and in fact the entire progres-

sive movement. John Locke, the leading political philosopher of the progressive forces of the period, said that man must not be deprived of property without due process of law. This was the ideal of early capitalism. Locke believed in the right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of property"—not "pursuit of happiness" as Thomas Jefferson later wrote, but Jefferson got his general idea of freedom from Locke.

The materialistic philosophy of the Renaissance held that the economic needs of man deserve more attention than his religious needs; that God does not require money, or material things of any kind, from man, and that in no case will God punish anyone for failure to pay money to His agents. It strongly implied that man should give more attention to the needs of man, and less attention to the generally supposed requirements of God.

The greatest economic relief ever received by a great number of people was obtained by Europeans as a direct result of the materialistic philosophy of the Renaissance. This relief came when the great church (cathedral, etc.) building program, which began in the tenth century and continued almost unabated for about eight hundred years, ended. This building program was so vast and costly that it was the chief factor in keeping more than ninety-five per cent of the people of Europe in mean, abject poverty for more than twenty-five generations. But it ended when the materialistic philosophy that was developed during the Renaissance became well known, as it eventually did. When the people learned the general principles of this philosophy it became impossible to convince them that God required great fort-like structures which were of no economic value to the people who furnished the labor and money to build them.

3. Social. Humanism developed in opposition to theology. The Humanists were a great intellectual force, and they attacked the anti-scientific philosophical theories of the feudal world. They were the first to attack Scholasticism, and they made the first attempt to separate ethics from supernaturalisms. They contended that a new school system was necessary to teach faith in man rather than faith in supernatural beings as was then almost universal practice. They held that man, not God, should receive the first consideration; that making life better and happier in this world was more important than preparing people for a happy life in the next world.

The Humanists developed a theory that held that religion does not raise the moral or ethical level of society, but on the contrary probably lowers these levels. They held that by promising forgiveness at the end of an immoral or unethical life, religion tends to weaken the moral fiber of society by creating the impression that one may spend most of his life in anti-social conduct without serious risk of divine punishment. (Most religions of this period contended that nearly all wrongs committed by man against either God or man would be forgiven if the wrong-doers confessed their "sins," and asked forgiveness of a supernatural being before they died. The Humanists considered this a socially disadvantageous doctrine and they tried to discredit or offset it.)

All of the Humanists were materialists, or had strong materialistic tendencies, but unfortunately for progress they revived, and adopted as progressive, the theories of the ancient Greek idealist philosophers, instead of the materialistic theories of the ancient world. However, they probably did this because the works of those idealists were readily available for study, and were in violent conflict with Roman Church doctrine, the chief enemy of Humanism, while the works of the ancient materialists were not as readily available. In any case, there is no doubt that the adoption of ancient Idealism by the Humanists strengthened the position of the progressive forces of the Renaissance, as this philosophy, even though it was reactionary, was far less reactionary than Roman Church Idealism (theological Idealism), the only other philosophy that had been allowed in the Christianized parts of Europe for many centuries. Actually, the Idealism of Aristotle, for example, was very progressive when compared with Roman Church Idealism, and it was effectively used by the Humanists to offset and weaken the reactionary influences of the latter philosophy, which was in fact almost pure theology. No doubt, progress would have been better served—and civilization would have advanced much faster—if the Humanists had revived ancient Materialism rather than ancient Idealism, but during this period when humanity was just emerging from the crass ignorance and superstition of the long Dark Ages, the revival of Greek Idealism as a weapon to fight Roman Church influence was a progressive move.

4. Religious. The Reformation and the rise of Protestantism. This

aspect of the Renaissance ended Roman Church dominance of religious thought in Europe, but only after a long, hard, struggle. (The Inquisition crushed many of the progressive aspects of the Reformation, and nearly crushed the Reformation itself.) From right to left ideologically the chief Protestant religious forces were organized as follows:

(a) Episcopalians. These people broke away from the Roman Church, took a stand against the pope, and supported the "divine right of kings" theory, but these were their only progressive aspects in the first stage of their existence. They then recognized the English king (Henry VIII), instead of the pope, as their head and used the English language, instead of Latin, in their ritual, but made no other changes in their organization, services, doctrines, or beliefs. As the Reformation developed, these people gradually became more progressive and in the eighteenth century a very large number of them—mainly the more progressive among the lower middle class and the poor—left their original sect and founded the Methodist sect.

(b) Lutherans. These people opposed the Roman Church on practically all issues, and made a strong attack on its ethics, especially as regards selling indulgences and obtaining money generally. They rejected the pope, and all other religious leaders as authorities in religious matters, and accepted the Bible as their only authority on any matter. (They were the first religious group to accept the Bible as the literal word of God. Before they did this the Bible was considered merely Christian Church doctrines, the collected religious writings worthy of belief by Christians.) They supported the "divine right of kings" theory, and were very progressive in the first stage of their existence, but they became less progressive as the Reformation developed. (They lost some of their progressiveness because their leaders became fearful that the revolt against the Roman Church would get out of hand, and develop into a revolt of the poor against the owning classes.)

(c) Calvinists, Puritans, Presbyterians, and Huguenots. These people strongly opposed the Roman Church in all fields, but they were interested primarily in the economic aspects of the Reformation. The Calvinists were the first Christian group to sponsor an economic success doctrine for laymen. Success in business was their

keynote, and they considered their wealthy merchants God's especially chosen people. (The economic theories of Calvinism form the present basic doctrine of reactionary "western" businessmen.) The Huguenots formed the mercantile class of France, but eventually the Inquisition killed a great many of them and drove the others to other countries. The political, economic, social, and religious ideas of the Huguenots eventually became the doctrines of the revolutionary forces in all Latin America, and all progressivism there stems from these ideas.

(d) Congregationalists, Arminianists, Mennonites, Baptists, and Anabaptists. This section of the progressive forces formed the "left wing" of the Protestant movement. It attained its greatest strength at the stage of the Renaissance when the "divine right of kings" theory was no longer progressive, and it opposed that "right." It was composed mainly of small merchants, small landowners, and the lower middle class and poor generally. (The Baptists were the most progressive religious group in North America during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They were established as a progressive force there mainly through the efforts of Roger Williams, the revolutionary religious leader who established the principle of religious freedom in the western hemisphere. They were the mass base of the revolutionary forces in the American Revolution, and one of their leaders, John Leland, was chiefly responsible for having religious freedom guaranteed by the United States Constitution.)

These four major progressive groups opposed the Roman Church, but they seldom cooperated with each other. There also was a lack of unity of purpose between the minor groups, and sometimes they fought each other. The Calvinists, for example, were very intolerant of all other Protestants, and attacked "nonconformists" in almost as cruel a manner as did the Roman Catholics. Also the Episcopalians made violent propaganda attacks on the Anabaptists, the dispossessed peasantry who formed the extreme "left wing" of the Protestant movement, for being socialistic. Furthermore the minor groups were usually split into contending factions. Because the progressive (Protestant) forces were unable to cooperate effectively, concerted action necessary for a complete victory over the reactionary (Roman Church) forces was impossible. As a result, the Inquisition utterly crushed the Refor-

mation in Italy, France, and Spain. But the Protestants won in England, Switzerland, Germany, Holland, and the northern countries generally, and thus saved the progressive movement. (The Falangist counter-revolt, backed by the Roman Church, against the Loyalists in Spain in 1936-1939, duplicated the Inquisition in that country.)

The dominant principle of Renaissance Protestantism was freedom of individual religious belief, and the philosophy of the entire Protestant movement was built on this freedom. It was held that there was no need for an intermediary between man and God; that the Bible was the word of God, who had given man the ability to understand it; that each individual was endowed with the moral, ethical, and legal right to interpret the Bible as his conscience dictated. This right was held to be God-given and self-evident. It was held that no power on earth could take this right away from any one, and that no one should give it away. These were very progressive principles and they had far reaching consequences, as they gave each Protestant the right to interpret the Bible to suit himself. This right was in accordance with the "every man for himself" philosophy of the rising capitalistic class of the period, and was of the greatest value to all capitalists as it allowed them to interpret the economic philosophy of the Bible to suit their own particular interests. The capitalists did this from the very beginning to great advantage to themselves, and to progress. However, the Bible, by its very nature, can be used to "prove," justify, or rationalize anything—even the worst crimes against humanity—and because of this circumstance literal interpretation of some things in it had very unfortunate, and sometimes tragic, effects. For one example, it was the direct cause of the murder of many thousands of helpless old women, who were said to be "witches." Zealots within the progressive forces, ignorant of early customs (mores, taboos, and folkways) and thoughts of primitive peoples, and also wretches with sadist tendencies, interpreted the Bible literally and found what they considered to be orders from God to kill "witches." King James, the very man who gave his name to the most widely used Protestant Bible, was not above killing "witches," and personally questioned at least one "witch,"

while she was under torture, and then had her burned to death at the stake.

Many of the religious leaders of the Reformation believed that God was the actual author of the Bible, but probably most of the others believed that He had only inspired men to write it. However, all of these leaders believed that the Bible was the actual word of God, that it was His law, and that it must be obeyed to the letter. They also believed that the Bible was the supreme and final authority for all peoples, times, places, conditions, circumstances, situations, and everything else. Because the scientific laws of change were not then known, no one realized that constant change involved in the advancement of civilization precluded the possibility of any book being able to cover so broad a field. Beyond reasonable doubt no Protestant leader knew that the Bible actually was the work of a great many people, including theologians, prophets, lawmakers, politicians, philosophers, historians, rationalists, poets, speakers, writers, translators, copyists, etc., over a very long period of time—at least a thousand years; that it had been revised and rewritten a great many times before it was ever translated into English, German, Dutch, French, Spanish, Italian, Swedish, Danish, Welsh, or any other national language commonly used by any politically important group of Protestants.

The Protestants did not know, and had no way of learning, that the Bible was unsuited for literal interpretation by anyone unfamiliar with its origin and development, but because the rising capitalistic class of the period, upon whose success Protestantism depended, needed a high ethical standard, they probably could not have acted very differently even if they had known all about the Bible. At this period of history a high standard of ethics was not possible unless ethics and religion were closely bound together. Religion was absolutely necessary to justify capitalistic ethics, and the Bible was the best religious authority—better even than any high church scholar or dignitary—according to the philosophy of the Protestants. (There has been a deterioration in Protestant philosophy and theology since the Reformation mainly because of political and economic circumstances which had a tendency to aid the less progressive form of theology. Protestant theology is now little, if any, better than Roman Catholic

theology, and is actually less "satisfying" to Protestants than Roman Catholic theology is to Roman Catholics. This situation is due to the fact that the best known of the early Protestant theologians, including especially John Calvin and Martin Luther, developed, from their own interpretations of the Bible, a theology that was as unreasonable as was the Roman Catholic theology of their day, and not because of any fault of the Protestant clergy as a whole. Much of this Protestant theology, but especially that of Calvin, had a tendency to make the Bible the law of the land—above state law—and because of strong political and economic support from capitalists it spread all over the Protestant world. It now influences all Protestant thinking, while the theology of other, more reasonable, Protestant theologians has almost disappeared for want of political or economic support. Mainly because of this circumstance the worst criminals, as well as the most noble humanitarians, now use the Bible to serve their own particular ends. Some chapter or verse can always be found to justify any particular act, and when such an act is contrary to the best interests of society, but is justified by the Bible, Protestant theologians can easily be found who will "settle" or dismiss the matter by saying that God's ways are mysterious! This circumstance is now causing enlightened Protestants to consider the Bible an unsafe guide for children or uneducated adults.)

CHAPTER XII

Renaissance, and Later "Pre-Marxian," Materialism

Renaissance Materialism was developed by materialistic philosophers and scientists, a small group of independent thinkers who were the leaders among the "Men of the Renaissance," the progressives and revolutionaries of the period. This philosophy was designed primarily to aid the development of a scientific explanation of the universe, and it succeeded although it was very strongly opposed by all the conservatives and reactionaries of the period. However, it could not possibly have succeeded had not the "Men of the Renaissance" been exceedingly bold and determined men.

The "Men of the Renaissance" were among the most effective, as well as the most courageous, men of all history. They did more to increase knowledge, accelerate progress, and advance civilization generally than any other men ever did. They attacked all forms of superstition, and knowingly took great risks of being tortured with fire and even burned to death at the stake by the Inquisition for advancing ideas contrary to Roman Church doctrines, but they were so determined to create a better world that they willingly accepted these risks. As a result, thousands of these men actually were burned to death, and many more thousands were killed or tortured with fire and by other horrible means. All of this death and torture was inflicted on men because they expressed opinions, or were believed to hold opinions, that were contrary to the dogmas and doctrines of the dominant theology of the period. This drastic effort, unprecedented for cruelty, to suppress thought, however, only made the "Men of the Renaissance" more determined to liberate man—especially to free him from his fear of supernatural agencies—and they continued to attack every thing that prevented his advance toward freedom. They never faltered in their determination or effort to help science

overcome superstition and ignorance, and thereby make the world a better place in which to live.

There is no evidence that any of the "Men of the Renaissance" were zealots, or had martyr complexes, or felt that it was necessary or desirable to die for civilization. Certainly none of them "invited" death as a sacrifice to the advancement of knowledge, the welfare of humanity, or to progress generally. In spite of this, however, the Inquisition was so determined to stamp out all new ideas, especially scientific ideas, that it found ways and means to kill anyone even suspected of holding them, but the materialistic philosophers and the scientists got enough support from Protestant political and economic leaders to save both materialistic philosophy and science. Because of this, science, led by materialistic philosophy, became the greatest intellectual factor of the Renaissance, and it finally took the place of blind faith in religious dogma in the minds of intelligent men seeking information as to the nature of the universe.

Most of the leaders of the "Men of the Renaissance," and especially the materialistic philosophers, held that man should be guided by the experience of his senses and by reason, and not by faith or belief in religious dogmas or doctrines expounded by "authority," the long established almost universal practice. They held that faith in dogmas or doctrines, ancient or modern, prevents progressive thought and action and in this way delays the advancement of civilization; that reliance on faith as a guide to action is a dangerous practice as people often are "blinded" by their faith in such a manner that their reasoning power loses its value and they become incapable of profiting by their experience. (All, or at least nearly all, of these philosophers held that man and human institutions improve only by experience, guided by reason; that faith in dogma is never an asset, but on the contrary is always a liability.)

The materialistic philosophers and the scientists held that all knowledge should be useful in a way that would make life easier, and they worked toward that end. The scientists wanted to learn more than the truth about the universe. They also wanted to find a way to control nature. In their investigations and experiments, however, many of them became involved in such anti-scientific activity as alchemy. (This probably was due to the fact that they got most of their basic

information from Arab writings, but were unable properly to translate Arabic.) This slowed down progress, and tended to make the development of the natural sciences hard and slow, but eventually the scientists learned to separate science from alchemy, and then progress was accelerated.

The "Men of the Renaissance" included many doctors and lawyers who were very influential in advancing progress. These professional practicians, under the protection of Protestant political leaders, were especially effective in exposing the fallacy of depending on aid from supernatural forces, and in freeing man from superstition. Doctors, by using scientific methods, cured people who could not be cured by prayers or miracles, and thereby proved that scientific medical practice is superior to miracle "cures." Lawyers, by eliminating supernaturalisms from legal logic and the rules of evidence, undermined and discredited the long standing and firmly established religious belief that divine revelation (ordeal by fire, "trial" by miracles, etc.) is the best way to discover truth.

Renaissance Materialism was mainly Cartesian philosophy, a system of thought founded by Rene Descartes, the most influential of the "Men of the Renaissance," and one of the greatest philosophers of all time. Cartesian philosophy was based on "universal doubt," but not a paralysing doubt, as that of Hume, for example. (Doubt and skepticism may lead into un-scientific paths, but Descartes, in developing his philosophy, made a special effort to avoid such paths.)

Descartes considered nature a machine that is rational, ordered, and perfect, and held that all energy, which operates this machine and everything else, is kinetic. He reduced everything in the universe to laws, which he held operate at two levels, space (extension) and motion. He contended that everything can be explained by mathematics, and he separated mathematics from the mystery which had always surrounded this science of thought. His philosophy came to be known as a "nothing but" philosophy, because it held that animals are nothing but machines, men nothing but animals, and society nothing but a collection of individuals. However, this philosophy and science, mainly that of Copernicus, Galileo, Kepler, and Newton, caused intelligent men of the Renaissance period to think of the universe as one harmonious whole.

Cartesian philosophy was a very progressive philosophy of its time, and was the greatest force that aided capitalism, Protestantism, the advancement of civilization, and progress generally in the seventeenth century. It did not advance any theory as regards "new" things or evolution, but these were its only defects from the standpoint of progress, and they were relatively unimportant concepts in philosophy during the Renaissance.

Cartesian philosophy represented the interests of the capitalistic (middle) class during the rise of capitalism, when that class was fighting to overthrow feudalism. Also it was in a way the "official" philosophy of the scientists, and other progressives of the period, who held that practice was superior to theory. This philosophy held that the test of theory was to be found in practice; that wisdom was to be found in the practical world instead of in the monasteries and the Church schools, the only institutions of learning of the period. It contended that the words and deeds of practical men were the best guides, and should be accepted as the nearest approach to the truth, because it was to the interest of such men to make the best (soundest) decisions and to avoid mistakes. That is, men in the practical world were compelled by necessity to be right in their calculations and judgments. Success or failure there depended absolutely on what was done. (When teachers, including especially theologians and philosophers who worked only in the world of theory and opinion, made a mistake it seldom did them any harm, but when kings, generals, sea captains, builders, bankers, merchants, and in fact all others in the practical world, made a mistake they usually got into trouble.)

A different conception of God was considered necessary, or at least desirable, in this period, and a "creator" or "harmonizer" God was introduced by progressives, all of whom considered themselves followers of Jesus. Cartesian philosophy not only admitted such a God in the scheme of things, but also considered Him necessary to start things and possibly to "enforce"—but not to change or in any way to alter—the laws of nature. It was assumed as a basis for philosophical rationalization, and even for purely scientific study, that this God established harmony between pre-existent mind and matter, and set the universe in motion. This was a "dualism" of two worlds, or mind and matter, theory, and was the strongest idealistic tendency in Car-

tesian philosophy, but even so it was unlike all other "dualisms" in philosophy in that it did not make mind superior to matter, or give mind any control over matter. It simply put mind and matter on an equality basis. This God may properly be called the "unorthodox" Christian God, as practically all those who recognized Him considered themselves Christians, but He was not necessarily anthropomorphic, as was the orthodox Christian God and the gods of many other religions, or necessarily in any other way like those gods. (None of the materialistic philosophers of this period thought of God as being cruel, wrathful, sadistic, revengeful, jealous, arrogant, conceited, vain, haughty, exacting, pompous, proud, capricious, or that He had any of the other baser characteristics of man, as had been constantly taught, almost entirely from the Bible and the works of the early "Church Fathers," by the Roman Church throughout the Dark Ages. These philosophers considered it undignified, witless, and quite useless, for man to cower, or otherwise degrade himself, before God or His agents, as was standard practice of all Christians of the pre-Renaissance period. And they held that there is no reason for believing that God demands, desires, or needs sacrifices, worship, praise, prayer, recognition, or anything else from man.)

The conception of the "creator" God was later modified to such an extent that no "authority" was considered competent to define Him in terms that had to be accepted by anyone as true. Actually, each individual was left entirely free to define this new conception of God to suit his own convictions, imagination, and the requirements of his conscience. (This was one of the great freedoms won by man during the Renaissance that has never been properly recognized or publicized, and is now almost forgotten. Credit for winning it is now usually given to English, French, German, or Russian philosophers of a later period, but this is not correct. These philosophers merely supported and defended this freedom. It was won and firmly established as a valid and necessary philosophical theory by the "Men of the Renaissance.")

In addition to "creator" this new conception of God eventually was considered under such titles as nature's god, almighty, supreme being, divine being, perfect being, all-powerful and all-knowing being, divine providence, providence, divine power, higher power,

supreme judge, nature's law, unbreakable law, first cause, and first mover. All of these titles were quite flexible, thus making it possible for each person to develop whatever idea of God he desired. The only "dogma" recognized in connection with this later, or "final," conception of the "creator" God was that He did not break, or in any way change or modify, any law of nature. The question as to whether or not He could change the laws of nature was left to individual opinion, and this view was considered reasonable by the thinking people of the period. (Some thinkers of this period considered the word "God" to mean that which caused things or knew about things which could not at the time be explained by science or easily rationalized by philosophy, but this was a somewhat "radical" view of the matter.)

The "creator" God is sometimes called the "Protestant" God, but this is not a good designation, as most of the Protestants, including Martin Luther, John Calvin, Ulrich Zwingli, John Knox, and all other great Protestant religious leaders, and some of the Protestant businessmen, retained the original idealistic (orthodox) conception of God. This "new" God was mainly a God of materialistic philosophers, scientists, progressive businessmen, and revolutionists, and indeed was the God of the American and French revolutions. (This is the God mentioned in the Declaration of Independence of the United States. In that document God is called "Creator," "Nature's God," and "Divine Providence," three of the titles commonly used in the period to describe this divinity, and no other definition is used, or in any way implied. The United States Constitution does not mention a god, or a divinity of any kind, but at least nearly all of its framers and signers accepted the "creator" God as their divinity. Members of Masonic and similar fraternal orders, with Protestant aspects, which flourished in or stem from the Renaissance period, have always accepted this conception of God.)

The "creator" God came to America through the English deists, and to France as a result of the activities of the French Encyclopedists. (The religious concepts of the leaders of the American Revolution, including George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, James Madison, John Adams, Samuel Adams, Thomas Paine, and

Ethan Allen, were based on English deism, and those of the French revolutionists were even less orthodox.)

Most scientists of this period, including Newton, one of the greatest scientists of all time, considered a "first cause" necessary in science, and many later scientists have held to this idea. Newton felt that a "first impulse" (first cause) was necessary to start the operation of the laws of gravity. Many scientists, however, do not accept the "first cause" idea. These scientists contend that when it is necessary to choose between two equally valid solutions to a problem the simpler solution should be chosen. (Applied to the universe plus first cause idea as against the universe alone idea this means that the latter should be accepted.) They hold that the introduction of a "first cause" to explain the universe, or anything about the universe, only makes a mystery more mysterious. In other words, they hold that the "first cause" idea not only does not in any way aid in solving the mystery of the universe, but on the contrary makes the mystery more complex—and more difficult to solve.

The philosophers of the economic theory of capitalism in this period did not especially concern themselves with conjectures as regards the existence of a god or gods. They simply accepted the general theory of the materialistic philosophers which held that no supernatural being concerns itself with man or nature, and then held that if this philosophical concept is valid there is no point in raising a question as to the existence of a god or of gods. That is, they held that it is useless to speculate on the existence or non-existence of a supernatural being that does not in any way interest itself in the affairs of the world; that is at most only a "first cause," that made the universe and started it moving. They were not atheists in any sense, but they considered debate on such a question only a waste of time and energy. However, they did object to the idealistic theory that there is a supernatural being that helps some and hinders, or at least does not help, others; that there is a divinity that selects certain people as its favorites. They held that such a divinity would be undesirable in the scheme of things, as those who got its favor would have an unfair advantage over those who did not get its favor. Such a divinity would upset the "normal balance" of things, and would thus interfere with the theories of "individualism" and "survival of

the fittest" that were cornerstones of the over-all capitalistic theory.

Cartesian philosophy eventually absorbed the philosophies of Baruch Spinoza, John Locke, Gottfried Leibnitz, David Hume, Baron d'Holbach, Auguste Comte, Ludwig Feuerbach, and many other philosophers who were, as a whole, more materialistic than was Descartes. As a result of this circumstance, Cartesian philosophy contained fewer idealistic tendencies in its later stages than it originally did, and finally became a compound of a great many philosophical ideas. This compound is now called Mechanical Materialism. (During the process in which Cartesian philosophy became Mechanical Materialism the "creator" God became progressively less important in the scheme of things, and is now usually identified with deism. This God may now be properly called a "deistic," or "deist," God.)

The scientific discoveries during the early Renaissance period tended to make men lose confidence in their senses. Science seemed to indicate that man could not believe, or trust, his senses. For examples: The sun seemed to rise in the east, but science showed that it did not rise at all; the earth seemed to be flat and standing still, but science showed that it was round and moving rapidly; when man rubbed his eyes strange lights seemed to appear when actually there was no light; when one hand was put in cold water and the other in hot water, and then both hands put in warm water the hand that had been in cold water felt hot and the other felt cold. Because of these and many other observations of a similar nature people began to realize that some things that man seemed to see and feel were not true. They then began to ask "What do, or can, we know?" This situation gave rise to "universal doubt" in materialistic philosophy, and a great variety of opinions as regards the nature of the universe were developed by materialist, and materialistic, philosophers of the period. (The materialistic philosophers, who included Descartes, Spinoza, Locke, and Leibnitz, had strong idealistic tendencies and because of this probably should be called idealistic materialists or transitional materialists. Their philosophy was a mixture of Idealism and Materialism, but it aided the latter and not the former.) There was no dogmatic "authority" to hold any of these philosophers to any one point of view on anything, and some of them differed widely as to the nature of things, but even so all of them rejected absolutely

the orthodox and traditional idealistic theory of the universe. And all of them were guided by knowledge (experience of the senses) and reason, and none of them considered faith or belief to be reliable guides, as did most of the idealists, including practically all of the theologians, of the period.

These materialist and materialistic philosophers can be classified as belonging to one or the other of two major groups, one of which, the "Spirit" group, believed that something — perhaps "spirit" (a god) or "mind"—created nature (matter), or at least started nature moving, while the other, the "Nature" group, believed that nature existed before "spirit," "mind," or anything else, and perhaps always existed. (The "Nature" group held, or clearly implied, that the gods, or at least the conception of gods, evolved out of matter.) The theories of the "Spirit" group were generally accepted by the more conservative materialist and materialistic thinkers while the theories of the "Nature" group were generally accepted by the more progressive or revolutionary materialists. However, ever since about the middle of the nineteenth century all materialist and materialistic philosophers have held that matter existed on earth before mind, and therefore is prior to mind as far as the world is concerned. To support this theory they submit as positive evidence the proved scientific fact that the earth was for many millions of years an exceedingly hot ball of fire in which no life could possibly have existed. Because there is no evidence that mind can exist without life it follows that there is no reason to suppose there was mind on earth during its long "fire ball" period or that anything but matter existed on earth at that time. These philosophers hold that since mind is now on earth—the world we live in—it could only have evolved out of matter. (All idealist philosophers reject this theory. Some of them, however, agree that the earth was once a ball of fire, but they contend that mind was introduced into the world by a supernatural force or power after the earth had cooled sufficiently to permit the existence of life.)

Teleology was adopted and developed by materialistic philosophers of the Renaissance period. Many, if not most, of these philosophers contended that everything has a purpose; that everything must and does serve some purpose—an end outside itself. They contended that everything is moving—being pushed or pulled, as by a magnet—

toward an "end," an objective. They did not advance any theory as to what the objective is, that is, as to where things are going, but contended that things are going somewhere for some reason. (Some of these philosophers agreed with the Scholastic idealists, of an earlier period, that the color of fleas is black so that they can be seen on a white sheet, and therefore may have thought that the objective is to aid man, but none of them held, as the idealists did, that God arranged this. In fact none of them conceded that God had anything whatever to do with the matter.)

Another idea that materialistic philosophers developed during this period had to do with dividing all things into two categories which they called "substances" and "accidents." Substances (chalk, for one example) were considered to be unknowable, but accidents (qualities of chalk, like white, smooth, will make a white mark, etc.) were considered to be knowable.

Baruch Spinoza, one of the greatest thinkers of the Renaissance, suggested that all things are animated, and that God is everywhere. But his conception of God was most unorthodox. He apparently believed that God and nature were the same, or that God is merely a part of nature. In any case, his God could not break the natural law (nature's law), and had no supernatural power whatever. That is, this God was not "all-powerful"; He could not perform miracles or answer prayers. (All orthodox Christians of the period contended or conceded that God was all-powerful. Some of them said He was wrathful, but others said He was benevolent, while still others said He was both wrathful and benevolent! All materialists and most materialistic philosophers generally ignored these claims, and nearly all of them considered God as merely a "first cause" of some kind.)

Spinoza suggested that God's mind and will operate and control the universe, but he also suggested that this mind is only the total of all mind (intelligence), in all time and space, and that this will is only the total of all causes in nature. This is a pantheistic and relatively "static" idea of God, which severely limits His powers and other attributes. Actually such a God is impotent as a supernatural force or power, cannot rule, and His intelligence cannot be above that of the most intelligent animals (humans). Spinoza rejected absolutely

all conceptions of heaven and hell, of reward or punishment after death, or of a future life.

John Locke contended that man cannot have an innate idea of God, but can form an idea of God from experience. He held that God exists as a spiritual substance that created the universe, including man, and has unlimited power—including the power to reward or punish man forever. However, he not only did not advance any theory as to how man would, or should, be judged, but also did not imply that God would use His power in any way that would concern man. That is, Locke merely conceded, as the orthodox religion of the period contended, that God is "all-powerful" without suggesting that God has any interest in man. Locke thus kept within the limits of the materialistic philosophy of the period as regards the conception of God, even though he approached closely the border of Idealism.

Locke held that the universe consists of primary qualities (external things like mathematical relation, shape, solidarity, extension in space, motion, etc.), which are always here, and secondary qualities (sound, odor, taste, color, etc.), which are not always here, but are provided by our sensations. He held that the secondary qualities are contributed by the perceiver and depend on being perceived (heard, tasted, etc.), and would not exist if we were not here to perceive them. He said that all knowledge comes from our sense impressions; that everything we know is a result of our sensations. (This was his strongest materialistic side.)

Many idealist, idealistic, and materialistic philosophers, working over a long period of time had, by the time of the Renaissance, firmly established "dualism" as a valid and necessary philosophical theory of the universe. From the standpoint of philosophy they had split the universe into two entirely different parts (mind and body). Gottfried Leibnitz tried to put together, or at least to reconcile, these two parts. He suggested that God established harmony between pre-existing mind (idea) and body (matter); that the universe operates on the order of two clocks, wound up so that they run together perfectly. He considered one of these "clocks" mind and the other matter, and that no miracle, or anything else, could alter their operation. He held that the universe had to be so arranged that nothing could get out of order, and that this condition could not be met unless mind and mat-

ter operate on the "two clock" principle. The mind of God dominates in this idea, but there are no miracles, or anything else of a supernatural nature about it, except that God "winds up" the "clocks" when they run down. Other philosophers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries developed and expanded this idea. They held that the universe was like a wound-up clock which was running down; that it was only a machine expending its energy (power), and would finally need a new start. These philosophers reflected the idealistic tendency in the materialistic philosophy of the period.

David Hume developed a materialist philosophy of such extreme skepticism that it had a tendency to undermine science. It was a philosophy that carried the "universal doubt" idea to an absurd limit. For examples, it contended that no rules hold good; that thoughts are worthless; that the sun may be only an illusion which we think we see because we expect to see it; that what we see is only an association of ideas. Hume reduced all experience to habit only and asked such questions as "Are there any ideas?" "Who are you?" "Why should the future resemble the past?" He said that the sensations, which Locke and others had mentioned, are only momentary; that they are only minor ideas, and therefore of little or no value. His conclusion was that we cannot know ourselves, and therefore we cannot know the outside world. His philosophy attacked every kind of superstition, but this was its only progressive aspect. (Hume is a classic example of a philosopher who searches for "truth" but because he cannot "find" it decides that there is none.)

All materialist and materialistic philosophers of this period constantly sought for "truth," but from almost the very beginning they were divided into two groups, one of which held that "Experience" is truth while the other held that "Reason" is truth. The "Experience" group held that everything is matter and motion, and it finally split into two sub-groups, one of which was called the "Sensationists" and the other "Rationalists." The Sensationists, who included Locke, held that all knowledge originates in sensation, that is, in sight, touch, etc. The Rationalists, who included Spinoza and Hume, held that reason furnishes certain elements that underlie experience and in this way makes experience possible. This sub-group denied the value of

experimental science, but it opposed all supernaturalism, and therefore was of some value to progress.

Baron d'Holbach was the greatest and most advanced materialist philosopher of his time, the rising middle class period just before the French Revolution. He held that there is no need for the supernatural; that matter is capable of thinking; that force operates at two levels (living force and dead force); that living objects (life) are different from inanimate objects. He had no theory of evolution, but he thought that atoms were "buzzing around" for no cause or reason at all. He thought that nature did not make men evil, but that institutions did.

Holbach strongly supported all aspects of the capitalistic theory of the period, and was an extremist in this respect. For example, he opposed the destruction of any property, which could be used to advantage, under any circumstance and held that every effort should be made to increase production, even to the abolition of rest days for workers. He did not like religion because it insisted on holidays, which he considered a waste of time that should be spent producing useful things, and also because it sometimes destroyed things of value —for example, the swine that Jesus destroyed.

Auguste Comte, probably the greatest and most progressive philosopher of nineteenth century France, held that the only knowledge man can have is in the field of natural phenomena. He contended that even this kind of knowledge is only relative; that nothing is known, or can be known, beyond the facts of physical science or of sense.

Comte developed to its highest degree a materialist philosophy called Positivism. This system of thought rejects all theological and metaphysical conceptions of things, and insists on a development of knowledge through the sciences. It holds that the positive facts of science are the only true or safe guides for human actions, and because of this it became a very important contribution to progressive materialist thought. (Positivism is now the philosophy of many progressives in South America, mainly however in Brazil.)

Ludwig Feuerbach was the last great mechanical materialist, and the greatest materialist philosopher of his time—the period immediately before Marx. But his thinking was influenced by Idealism

which was then very strong and had dominated all thinking in Europe during his early life. Actually, during this time Idealism almost destroyed the influence of Materialism everywhere in Europe, and nearly all materialists had strong idealistic tendencies.

Feuerbach held that some idealistic concepts are of value and deserve a place in a materialist world; that it would be socially disadvantageous to discard all of these concepts. He, however, did not want to effect a compromise between Materialism and Idealism. He only wanted to save what he considered were the socially desirable aspects of Idealism, that is, the aspects that he felt could become aids to progress in a materialist world. For example, he felt that religion could be used by society to advantage.

Feuerbach wanted to retain a religion of some sort, mainly because he felt that man needed a religion. He felt that man needed to keep in contact with religion even though that contact amounted to nothing more than that the word "religion" be retained in the language; that this word was so dear to man that it could be used to advantage to denote something good. He held that many worthwhile things could be called "religion" to the advantage of progress, and suggested that love, friendship, compassion, self-sacrifice, and even politics, be called "religion." He even suggested establishing a religion based on nature (actually on Materialism!). He wanted to "perfect" religion, by ridding the word "religion" of its supernatural connotations. He saw no need for a god, however, and did not include one in any of his theories. He said that "nothing exists but man and nature." He wanted to gain and hold the confidence of ignorant people so that they could more easily be persuaded to aid progress, and it was only because of a desire to avoid antagonizing them or hurting their feelings that he was in favor of retaining any expression of religion. (The thinking of Feuerbach and Comte when combined forms the intellectual connection between "pre-Marxian" Materialism and Marxism.)

Charles Darwin, an idealistic materialist, was the last great thinker whose ideas support "pre-Marxian" Materialism. He did more than any other person in all history to free man from superstition. He proved, mainly by collecting and examining scientifically a huge mass of biological data, that there is change and that life did evolve;

that all present living things evolved from other living things. He held that the many different animal species now in existence are due to "natural selection" caused mainly by different environments, and not to "divine creation." He thus undermined the theory, held by the theological idealists, that God created all the various animals at the same time, and in at least approximately their present form. His chief contribution to progress was that he proved, beyond any doubt, that man evolved from another, but similar, animal—a "higher" ape. (This had a devastating effect on theological Idealism, and especially on its theory that man is different from animals because he has a "soul" while animals do not. If man evolved from an animal it was necessary, from the standpoint of theological Idealism, to assume that animals have souls or that the soul entered man after he ceased to be an animal. Many questions were asked such as "When did the soul enter man?" "Did the soul enter man during a transition period from animal to man, and if so at what stage in the process?" "When did man cease to be an animal?" "Did the ape-man, man's ancestor, have a soul, and if so do the present higher apes have souls?" The theological idealists have not given satisfactory or reasonable answers to any of these questions, and are not expected to do so.)

Darwin held, although he did not prove, that things change because of scientific laws, and because he did so the idea that social change is due to these laws gained some public support. This was a great aid to progress. However, Darwin did not advance a complete theory as to how the laws of change operate. (Darwin's theory of evolution held that the variations of type from which new species could arise by survival of the fittest were those that are known to occur among the young of all plants and animals. These variations are mostly rather slight quantitative changes in size or coloring, and follow the "law of chance" or the probability curve,—that is, most cases are at the mid point of size or color intensity, with fewer cases as both extremes are approached; for this reason they are called "chance variations." There also sometimes occur variations among the young that are essentially different in that they are abrupt qualitative changes affecting form as well as size. These variations, called "sports" or mutations, are considered to be the main source of new

species. Their cause is unknown, but may be determined by further investigation.)

Darwin held or implied that organisms are only clashing units; that survival of the highest types is a purely mechanical phenomena; that environment is purely external pressure; that man is conditioned and controlled solely by his environment, and does not have any control over his environment. (Modern materialists contend that if applied to social problems this theory might rule out intelligent social cooperation. Man can and does control his environment to some extent. For example, he irrigates deserts and sometimes controls his actions during theatre fires.)

Darwin contended that in the struggle for existence competition is natural and that the fittest survive. He in this way greatly aided the proponents of the theory that capitalistic competition is natural and beneficial to mankind. But science has shown that in the struggle for existence at least nearly all animals of a species—except man in "class" society—cooperate to a greater extent than they compete; that they always cooperate when danger is great. It follows that cooperation may be more natural and beneficial than competition. Also it is obvious that by "survival of the fittest"—as the term was used by Darwin—is meant "survival of those best fitted to survive under the existing conditions," not necessarily those "fittest" in the popular meaning of the word. In the latter sense, in many cases the "unfit" survive and the "fit" perish. For example, the courageous and strong (the "fit") usually fight and die while the cowards and weak (the "unfit") avoid danger and live.

CHAPTER XIII

Mechanical Materialism

Mechanical Materialism is the name now used to describe the philosophy which evolved out of the materialistic philosophy of the Renaissance. It is mainly a progressive extension of Cartesian philosophy, and from its inception until the twentieth century it was the most powerful progressive intellectual force in the world. (Because of comparatively recent great developments in materialistic thought it is now usually necessary to consider Materialism under two different headings—Mechanical Materalism and Modern Materialism —when a clear, or detailed, explanation of this philosophy is desired. This situation was brought about because a new kind of materialistic philosophy began, during the nineteenth century, to evolve out of what had been generally accepted as traditional, standardized, Materialism, and eventually split off from its parent stem. This new philosophy has been greatly developed, and is now best described as Modern Materialism to distinguish it from the older philosophy, now called Mechanical Materialism. In short, Materialism has split into two different parts and for convenience, as well as for a clear understanding of this philosophy, it is now desirable to explain each part separately. The split in Materialism has not in any way weakened the influence of this philosophy, but on the contrary has strengthened it, as the parts aid progress in different intellectual fields. By being split into two parts, Materialism is able to provide two different rationalizations of things, and therefore can and does influence many more people than was formerly possible. It now meets the needs of, and is accepted by, thinkers who have been conditioned by quite different environments and as a consequence have different outlooks. One part of this philosophy—Mechancial Materalism—serves the "right-wing" of the liberal-progressive-revolutionary

thinkers and the other part—Modern Materialism—serves the "left-wing" of these thinkers.)

The essentials of Mechanical Materialism are the conclusions on which a multitude of progressive "individualistic" philosophers, over a long period of time, are in virtual or general agreement. These essentials include the sum and substance of all uninhibited materialistic thinking from the time of Thales to the time of Marx—about twenty-four hundred years—but this philosophy in its modern form is a product of the Renaissance. It was developed mainly by the "Men of the Renaissance," who in doing so usually worked independently of each other. These men used Cartesian philosophy as their base, but thoroughly mixed into this base all other materalistic philosophy. They, in this way, produced a progressive philosophy suited to the needs of the ruling and middle class capitalists after capitalism had overthrown feudalism. Mechanical Materialism is to Materialism somewhat as theological Idealism is to Idealism, and is a compound of all materialistic philosophy originating before the emergence of Marxism, the forerunner of Modern Materialism.

Mechancial Materialism maintains a connection, although a very weak one, with Idealism, and therefore is not "pure" Materialism, but actually is transitional, or idealistic, Materialism. However, its connection with Idealism is only that it concedes that at the base, or "center," of things there is chance (unknown cause). This point is unimportant in the practical world, and it is usually dismissed as of little or no importance in either the field of theory or of fact. It is one of the "unknowables" within this philosophy, and the mechanical materialist philosophers have not yet advanced a theory of its nature for science to consider.

Mechanical Materialism is based on human experience through sense perception, and it holds that the senses are the sources of all knowledge. It holds that only science can explain things, and that science is based on sense perception only; that no god, or other supernatural being, ever explains anything or in any way influences the life of man, the course of nature, or anything else in the universe. It holds that man has some control over his destiny—can to some extent create his future—and that this control is due solely to his own

efforts; that the aid man receives from any source can be explained by science, or not at all.

Mechanical Materialism is a philosophy of nature and natural law, of cause and effect, of science. It holds that supernatural explanations of anything are, always have been, and always will be, worthless. It further holds that to believe anything without evidence of the senses to support the belief is at best irrational behavior, and at worst a crime against the mind; that nothing is worthy of belief unless it is based on reason, and supported by historical or scientific fact. (The modern scientific attitude is that all "scientific facts" are still open for re-examination, but are "true" enough to serve as a basis for action.)

Mechanical Materialism readily concedes that there are a great many things which cannot now be explained, but it contends that whatever can be explained must be explained by science, and not by any supernatural means. It insists that the search for truth must be in the sciences and must never, under any condition or circumstance, be in supernaturalisms. This philosophy rejects the idea that there are supernaturalisms, such as "miracles," etc., which affect or in any way influence things, mainly because it relies on science, and science would be impossible if the laws of nature could be violated. It holds that if a supernatural power, superior to nature, changes the laws of nature for any reason, no scientific law can hold good; that the idea of supernatural intervention in nature is entirely contrary to the laws of science, and therefore is false.

Mechanical Materialism holds that all things operate (move) at the same (a mechanical) level, and that all progress is due to a clash of "mechanical" units, which, in turn, is due to both cause and chance. It levels man "down" to nature (things and physical events), and levels nature "up" to man. It holds that there is no real change in anything; that nothing new is ever created; that what seems to be change is only redistribution, and what seem to be new things are only old things arranged in a different way. In short, it holds that there is nothing in the new that was not in the old. However, it does hold that mind (spirit) developed from matter, but this is the only concession it makes to the theory that change is real.

Mechanical Materialism is better (more progressive) than any

kind of idealistic philosophy, and is a great advance over Idealism. It differs from Idealism mainly in that it contends that man never receives any aid from any supernatural source, but its theory of chance gives it an idealistic tendency. It considers the theory of chance in the universe necessary to account for the redistribution of things, which it holds takes place under all conditions, except possibly extreme cold. Atoms, and all other things in nature whether conscious or unconscious are considered to move about in efforts to improve their position in the general over-all scheme of things. Conscious nature, that is, man, is considered to move due to known cause, but unconscious nature is considered to move for cause, or no cause at all that can be explained by science or rationalized by philosophy.

Mechanical Materialism holds that while the cause which moves some things is known, the cause which moves other things is not known; that not only has the cause of the movements of all things not been found, but that actually some things move by chance—perhaps even without any cause. These latter things just "buzz around" in the universe, and are not affected by any known law. (This is a "free will" conception of things and it is based mainly on the ideas of Epicurus and Holbach. It, and the atomic theory in general, may have originated when some philosopher noticed dust particles moving about, like those sometimes seen when light flows through a knothole in a dusty barn.)

Some mechanical materialists believe that the universe is moving toward an "objective" due to "natural" law, while others believe that it is being pulled or pushed toward something (some objective). Still others believe that a "first cause" of some kind made the universe and started it moving, and that ever since then it has run itself, as a clock runs itself, and may, or will, finally run down. These materialists contend that the universe will then need "rewinding," and some think that the (or a) "first cause" will do this, but others doubt that it will be started again. The latter materialists suggest that the universe began when a god ("first cause" of some kind) who by chance was passing pre-existing matter started the matter moving (whirling). This god, according to the reasoning of these materialists, then went away, and never took any more interest in

the universe, and may never return to it. (Herbert Spencer, a borderline materialist, dismissed all of these ideas as being "unknowable" and unimportant in the search for truth in the practical world. Most mechanical materialist philosophers, and many scientists, concede that Spencer's rationalization of this matter is a sound base for any philosophy or science, and will remain so at least until man's brain acquires powers it does not now possess. These thinkers contend, however, that the brain will develop indefinitely, and that in the future infinitely more will be known about the universe than is now known; that the number of "unknowables" will constantly decrease as science advances.)

Mechanical Materialism has been of the greatest value to civilization and the progress of mankind. During its early development and rise it was the chief ally of science, and was the spearhead of progressive thought. It then helped science to make tremendous advances in mathematics, physics, astronomy, chemistry, and many other things at a time when science was very primitive, and there was very little science of man such as sociology, physiology, biology, anthropology, or psychology. It led the fight against superstition, and the almost universal belief that supernatural "forces" (miracles, magic, spirits, etc.) helped and hindered man.

Mechanical Materalism was the philosophy, and the optimistic outlook, of the revolutionary and progressive capitalists in the eighteenth century, because its theory favored capitalism and everything else of a progressive nature. It was the philosophy of the American and French revolutions, and it reached its highest point of prominence and usefulness to civilization in the latter part of the eighteenth century, because the leaders of those great revolts against oppression adopted it as the philosophy of political and social progress. It also was the philosophy of most of the leaders of the revolts against Spain in the western hemisphere during the nineteenth century. (Most of those leaders were members of Masonic orders, or other orders of a similar nature, whose philosophy was Cartesian, the parent stem of Mechanical Materialism, and was brought to America by the French Huguenots, who had migrated to America because of persecution by the Inquisition in France.)

Mechanical Materialism was the philosophy of the United States

until about the end of the nineteenth century, and was of the greatest value to early United States capitalism and to American progress generally. Under the guidance and influence of this philosophy the United States became the most progressive country in the world, and advanced very much faster than the other parts of the western hemisphere, all of which were under the influence of Idealism. (Because much of the western hemisphere was undeveloped and underpopulated until as late as the twentieth century, and therefore well suited for capitalist exploitation, Mechanical Materialism would have been an ideal philosophy for this entire area before that time—as it would have aided capitalism—but reactionary forces prevented this philosophy from becoming dominant anywhere in this great area except in the United States. About the beginning of the twentieth century these forces led the United States away from Mechanical Materialism to Idealism—mainly Pragmatism and theological Idealism—and now some form of Idealism dominates nearly all of the western hemisphere.)

The chief aim of Mechanical Materialism is to explain the universe, and all things in it, from a scientific (materialistic) standpoint. And it is the philosophy of most scientists in capitalistic countries. (In these countries, people who are publicly known to understand Modern Materialism are socially incapacitated. Because of this situation, scientists as well as others usually avoid favorable public comment on this philosophy, and only a few become familiar with its theories.)

Mechanical Materialism is a philosophy which is acceptable to progressive capitalists and others in capitalistic society who cannot accept Idealism, but who for various reasons—mainly economic and social—need a "first cause," and therefore cannot eliminate from their philosophy one of the chief cornerstones of Idealism. It provides a middle ground for people in capitalistic society who wish to rid themselves of the idea of supernatural aid to man, but who for economic or social reasons prefer not to be identified with Modern Materialism, a philosophy which rationalizes the universe without using the "first cause" principle.

Mechanical Materialism was originally on the extreme left end of the world political-economic-social-religious scale, the scale upon

which all philosophical and ideological concepts are measured, but it is now only a short distance left of center on that scale. However, there is no evidence that this philosophy has moved toward the right. The change in position on the scale is due to the fact that the scale itself has changed to such an extent since Mechanical Materialism was produced that philosophical and ideological concepts which were then "extreme left" are now near "center."

Mechanical Materialism is so named mainly because it reduces everything to a mechanical level of behavior. Because it denies real change it is in conflict with Modern Materialism and is not as well suited to social problems as is the latter philosophy, which is one of constant change in everything. However, its redistribution theory is the nearest approach to real change in things that was made in philosophy from about the sixth century B.C. to about the middle of the nineteenth century A.D.

Mechanical Materalism has not been changed since the nineteenth century, and little or no effort has been made to develop or expand it since then. In that century materialist and materalistic philosophers began to lose interest in this philosophy, and to turn their attention to Marxism, a new materialistic conception of things which eventually became Modern Materalism. (The Fascists and Nazis used Mechanical Materialism to defend extreme reactionary capitalism against socalistic principles and as a device for bargaining purposes in their dealings with organized religions before and during the Second World War. However, this did not change the basic progressive aspects of this philosophy. The Fascists and Nazis used it, as they also used socialistic slogans in their propaganda, to mislead people and to curry favor with elements within the countries they controlled that were generally opposed to church influence in politics, economics, and sociology. This tactic strengthened temporarily the position of the Fascists and Nazis. Because this philosophy was used by these reactionaries it fell into disfavor with many progressives and gained some favor with conservatives. The immediate result of this was to retard progress, but the final and lasting result will be to advance it, because the impact, by association or contact, on conservatives of this philosophy will eventually weaken their reactionary

tendencies. Therefore, even though circumstances of a peculiar historical nature made it possible for reactionaries to use Mechanical Materialism to gain a temporary advantage this fact did not weaken the general, long term, progressive movement.)

CHAPTER XIV

Marxism, the Base of Modern Materialism

Marxism is a materialistic system which cannot be included in Mechanical Materialism, and because of this must be considered a different kind of materialistic philosophy. Marxism represents a change in materialistic thought from that of the Renaissance period, and is the base from which all modern materialistic thinking has developed. It differs from Mechanical Materialism mainly in that it does not concede, or in any way imply, the necessity of a "first cause" in the universe and that it holds that entirely new things are made (come into being) from old things. But it also differs from the older philosophy in that it holds that in all pre-socialistic society violence is always necessary to bring about a change for the better in society. (In the nineteenth century this was a new philosophical concept of the needs of progress. Mechanical Materialism had accepted the principle of violence, but only in extreme situations when no other course was possible.)

The change in materialistic thought was caused by the fact that the capitalist leaders in Europe, who ever since the beginning of the Renaissance had been a very powerful revolutionary force, ceased to be revolutionary early in the nineteenth century. They changed their outlook and tactics mainly because Napoleon Bonaparte forced great changes in European society which strengthened and consolidated the position of capitalism. (Bonaparte discredited kings and the nobility generally, reduced the political power of religious leaders, distributed land to the peasants, established free public schools, established a progressive legal system, and in other ways undermined the still remaining supports of feudalism.)

Because of changes in European society—brought about mainly by Bonaparte—which gave the capitalist leaders control of things

the capitalists not only ceased their attacks on the remnants of feudal society that still existed, but actually began to incorporate these remnants into capitalist society as devices to strengthen the position of capitalism. At this time capitalism in Europe was very near the height of its power, and had little opposition, but the capitalists were not satisfied with the returns on their investments. They wanted greater profits, and although they then had stronger control over the wage workers than ever before they wanted more control in order that profits could be increased. In order to obtain maximum profits it was necessary that the capitalists obtain absolute control over all workers and the masses generally, and they made a determined effort to secure this control. In one of their most drastic and successful actions to further their aims the capitalists aided in the formation of the Holy Alliance, a coalition of all the strong reactionary forces of Europe. The philosophy of this Alliance was theological Idealism of a type almost as paralysing as that of the Dark Ages, and it not only had a very depressing effect on all human effort to advance civilization, but also forced a strong reactionary trend in European society.

The Holy Alliance, which was monarchical, semi-feudal, very autocratic, and had strong theocratic tendencies, sought to reduce the workers to an economic position lower than that of serfs. This Alliance opposed all democratic and republican forms of government, movements, and principles. It proclaimed itself to be a Christian alliance and it attempted to restore religion to the dominant position in politics from which it had been moved by a long series of progressive and revolutionary efforts culminating in the French Revolution. In an effort to strengthen its position, and to weaken the position of its opponents, this Alliance forced a religious approach to all political, economic, and social matters.

The Holy Alliance was ably led by Prince von Metternich, the most powerful and clever reactionary of the period, and as a consequence it held that there must be no opposition to political or religious doctrine or authority as defined by itself. It held that the people must obey the "authority" of its leaders and never rebel under any condition or circumstance; that revolution was contrary to

Christian principles and ethics, and, therefore, must be prevented and discredited at all cost.

The Holy Alliance held that it not only had the right to prevent revolution of the peoples within the countries which accepted its leadership, but that it also had the right to intervene against revolutionary efforts in countries which denied its authority or leadership. It actually held that it had the right to overthrow, by military force, any government anywhere that had been established by revolt against any "Christian" power, even though the new government was composed entirely of Christians. (In exercising this "right" the Holy Alliance extended its scope of activities to America and tried to overthrow the Latin American republics, which had been established by revolutionary action, and undoubtedly would have done so had not the United States established the Monroe Doctrine.)

The Holy Alliance immediately became a very dangerous and powerful reactionary force. It not only opposed all revolutionary movements, but also opposed all progressive and liberal movements and ideas of all kinds, and tried to reestablish society as it had existed before the French Revolution. As a result of these reactionary developments it soon became clear that if the Holy Alliance succeeded in its aims, western Europe would recede into feudalism—from which it had been freed only after tremendous revolutionary effort. In this event most of the great political, economic, social, and religious gains which had been made by the revolutionaries of the Renaissance would have been lost.

The extremely reactionary situation which the Holy Alliance produced prevented any progressive extension of capitalism at a time when this ideology was beginning to approach the limits of its best possibilities in some of the more advanced parts of Europe. Capitalism in these parts then began to stagnate and decay, and as a result was unable to meet what had been generally accepted as the elementary needs of all human beings. Great hardship and suffering became common, especially among the industrial workers and their families in all parts of Europe that had accepted capitalism as the dominant ideology. Even in England, Germany, and France, the most advanced capitalistic countries of the period, the condition of industrial workers became almost unbearable. But violent uprisings,

or even strong protests, by the poor against the vested interests—the normal reaction of human beings to such an intolerable situation—did not occur. The absence of revolt, however, was due solely to the fact that the poor had no reason for believing that violence, or anything else, could bring relief—and not at all to any thought that justice prevailed. A feeling of utter helplessness and futility prevailed among the poor, and they accepted their condition. They felt that it could not be improved in any case, and resigned themselves to their sad fate, as revolt was out of the question. (All the gains obtained by the poor as a result of violent action during the French Revolution seemed to have been lost due to the emergence of the Holy Alliance; therefore, gains made in this manner were considered of no lasting value.)

As this period developed the condition of the poor became worse, and as a consequence a new philosophy of action, more drastic than Mechanical Materialism, became necessary if the poor were to be rescued from their miserable condition. Also a radical philosophy of revolution was necessary to offset the reactionary Idealism of the Holy Alliance if the trend toward feudalism was to be stopped. Even the least revolutionary of the progressives and liberals of the period finally realized that changes had to be made in society which would enable it to meet at least the most pressing needs of the industrial workers—and a new philosophy not only was necessary to effect these changes, but also to rationalize and justify them. This situation within the political-economic-social-religious order of western Europe produced Marxism, a philosophy of violent revolution. This philosophy stopped the trend toward reaction in Europe which had been set in motion by the Holy Alliance, and also thoroughly discredited the philosophy and designs of that Alliance. And it eventually forced a change for the better in capitalistic thought and action.

Marxism was conceived by Karl Marx and was developed mainly by him and Friedrich Engels. (Marx worked mainly in the field of economics and sociology, and Engels worked mainly in the natural sciences.) Marxism was first expounded to the public about 1847, and it immediately changed the thinking of a great many people in the more advanced parts of the "western" world. It also caused re-

volts, uprisings, and strong protests of various kinds by the workers against the vested interests in many countries, but especially in Germany, Austria, France, and England. In this way, it broke the power of the Holy Alliance, and began to change for the better the condition of the poor.

Marx held that in order to meet the needs of the people, who were suffering as a result of defects within nineteenth century European society, the entire capitalistic system should be destroyed and its place taken by socialism. He held that the workers should arise and by force overthrow capitalism, and also any government which tried to save that ideology.

Marx held that all things in the world belong to all the people in the world and should be equally distributed among the people; that due to circumstances over which the poor had no control whatever, a few—the rich and the vested interests generally—had obtained control of most of the wealth of the world while the great majority—the workers and the poor generally—had nothing but their "chains" of bondage. He held that the vested interests would not, and could not be expected to, give up any of the wealth or power which they held; that these interests would resist to the end, with every force at their command, any division of what they contended was their property; that they would not even grant any worthwhile concessions to the poor because of fear that this would establish a precedent for further concessions; that due to the rise and great expansion of "machine age" capitalism, violent revolution was the only alternative the poor had to slow death by starvation and disease. He said that because of the very nature of the capitalist system, the workers could not improve their position within this system except by violence. Marx, in this way, proclaimed to the suffering working classes the theory of violent action, and this theory has always remained an important principle of Marxism. He said to the workers "you have nothing to lose but your chains," in the event that violence failed. (From this general idea the theory of "salvation by catastrophe" was developed, but this theory is now held by only the very extreme "left-wing," or "lunatic fringe," "Marxists.")

Marx held that a violent, revolutionary, movement that would destroy capitalism and establish socialism should and would begin in the most advanced capitalist country of the period. This was not possible in the nineteenth century as no country in the world was then ready for socialism—a conclusion with which practically all modern proponents of socialism are in general agreement. But a drastic, revolutionary, idea was then necessary to stir the workers to action against the great injustices which had become a part of the European capitalistic system, and which were forcing acute suffering on the working classes while at the same time allowing the privileged classes to live in luxury. Due to the fact that at the time Marx advanced his theory of violent action the workers in Europe had no power whatever to better their condition by any other means it was accepted as a valid philosophical theory by many thinkers on the political needs of progress, and it gained considerable support from the workers. This frightened the capitalists, and their "every man for himself and no mercy for the unsuccessful" theory, which had been generally held throughout all previous European capitalistic history, began to weaken and give way to one containing a recognition of some measure of social responsibility. They then introduced into capitalism some changes of a socialistic nature—mainly reforms involving an extension of public ownership and the assumption of government responsibility for the well-being of people within the state as regards health, education, etc. These changes in the economic and social order of Europe weakened the reactionary influences of the period, but they also weakened the theory of the necessity of violence in bringing about changes for the better in society, and in this way they extended the life of European capitalism. They also, however, paved the way for the emergence of socialistic society in Europe, and laid the foundation for eventual world socialism. (Most materialists, and progressives generally, in "western" countries now hold that the condition of the poor can, and should, be improved without the use of violence.)

Marx was the greatest and most influential materialist philosopher, and the greatest thinker of the working class movement. He said that "it is not the consciousness of men that determines their being; but their social being that determines their consciousness." That is,

he said that our social existence (the world around us) determines our consciousness (thought); our thoughts are only a reflection of material and historical reality.

Marx contended that the mode of production determines the political, economic, social, and religious outlook; that social production relations are the base of all society; that these relations produce and condition all thoughts of man; that the productive forces are the makers of progress. He contended that the struggle between man and man ever since the tribe broke up and the state was formed has always been between those who owned the means of production and those who did not own them; that this is the greatest of all struggles. This is his chief theory, and is the foundation of Marxism. His explanations to prove this theory run like a thread through all his works.

Marx was the greatest authority of his time on the economics of capital and labor relations. He held that the employment of labor is the only source of profit in capitalistic society; that labor is the only commodity that can be bought for less than it is worth. He developed the theory of modern social planning, and firmly established sociology as a major science.

Marx said that heretofore philosophers had tried to interpret (explain) the world, while the thing they should do, if humanity is to be benefited, is to change the world. His work vastly changed modern thinking, and has had a greater effect on the modern world than that of any other individual. Many of his economic and social theories have been adopted and put into practice all over the world, as being necessary for the well-being of modern society. Even the most reactionary capitalistic countries now practice some of his economic and social theories, but capitalists claim all credit for them. That is, capitalists claim these theories as their own, and give no credit to Marx.

In developing his theory of change Marx accepted the logic, but not the conclusions, of Hegel. (Hegel had held that all things change because of conflict, but he contended that this conflict began, and continued, only with ideas. He concluded that this conflict of ideas produced material things; that with man the conflict between ideas within his head produced all the things he made. Marx agreed with

Hegel that all things change because of conflict, but he contended that the conflict began within, and between, material things, and that this conflict produced ideas.) Marx said that the laws of change operate within the material world before they produce ideas in man's head; that there can be no ideas unless material things produce them. That is, he held that material things form the base of all thinking; that ideas do not produce material things, but on the contrary are produced by material things; that material things cause ideas to form in one's head. (Marx considered his philosophical system to be the exact opposite of Hegel's system, and many materialists now contend that Hegel put the "pyramid of reality" on its apex, but it was turned over and set on its base by Marx.)

Because of the great advance and extension of materialistic philosophy since the nineteenth century, Marxism should now be considered only as a major development in materialistic thought and not as an all-inclusive philosophy. Some of its chief theories, which made it a powerful force in the nineteenth century, are no longer valid. For example, its theory that socialistic society could be established only after capitalistic society had been overthrown by violence became invalid after several countries accepted socialistic society by parliamentary means, without any violence whatever, and is now generally considered obsolete. Most materialists now consider education, rather than revolt, the normal and best way to bring about a change for the better in society especially in advanced countries, and this general idea has been accepted by the vast majority of the supporters of Materialism. (Marx, himself, accepted this view after the overthrow of the "Paris Commune" in 1871.)

All of the concepts of Marxism which can now be considered valid are included in Modern Materialism, a philosophical system which was made possible only because Marxism provided a base upon which it could be erected. These concepts are subject to constant re-examination, and no doubt many of them eventually will be changed, or rendered unimportant, as experience guides philosophers to better—more nearly correct—concepts. But there is no reason for believing that any important change will be made in Modern Materialism before the end of the struggle between capitalism and socialism.

CHAPTER XV

Principles of Modern Materialism

Modern Materialism evolved out of Marxism, and has been highly developed by a great many thinkers, but basically it is quite similar to the dynamic and constant-change Materialism of the ancient Greeks, the first materialistic philosophy of which there is a clear record. Modern Materialism is a scientific extension of Marxism, and it includes all materialistic philosophy except that which is within the domain of Mechanical Materialism. (On the scale of materialistic philosophy, Modern Materialism is "left of center," while Mechanical Materialism is "right of center.")

Modern Materialism is usually called dialectical Materialism or Marxism, but these terms are not broad enough to describe this philosophy. Also they are not generally understood, and are somewhat misleading. For example, the word "dialectical" is usually understood to refer to talk while this philosophy is one of action. Also the word "Marxism," while often used to describe this whole philosophical system, only describes the base of this system. Modern Materialism began to change shortly after its base was laid, and has changed considerably since then. In fact it is constantly changing, and will never cease to change. (All philosophical systems change, because proponents of a given philosophical theory change their opinions as new political, economic, social, and religious conditions develop. This causes differences of opinion to arise among proponents of the same theory, and sometimes these differences become great. For an example of this situation, many present day "Marxists" interpret Marxism quite differently from earlier "Marxists." In fact some of the present day "Marxists" are already as far away from what was originally held to be the teachings of Marx as many of the present day Christians are away from the teachings of Jesus,

even though the latter had an eighteen hundred year advantage in starting.)

Modern Materialism is an explanation of the universe from a viewpoint immediately beyond the most advanced scientific base. It is an explanation of the physical world in motion; of universal laws of change development; of evolution in nature, human society, and thought. It is based on the theory that matter is primary and mind (thought) is secondary; that matter existed before mind. It contends that the material world is primary and that thoughts about this world are secondary; that mind is actually a product of matter, rather than the cause of matter as the idealists contend. It contends that the world is a hard, tangible, material, objective reality that man can know, and in this respect at least it is the exact opposite of Idealism.

Modern Materialism rejects all supernatural theories of every kind, including those having to do with the creation or operation of the universe. It assumes that the universe, including all matter and energy (motion or force) was not made, but has always existed, and will always exist. (That is, it assumes that there was no beginning and that there will be no end.) It contends that the universe is operated and controlled by forces within itself; that the universe and all things in it are constantly changing, and that this action is due to forces which can be explained by the laws of science. It concedes that there are many things which cannot now be explained, but contends that this is because the laws of science are not yet fully understood. It holds that science is a relatively unchanging law that governs the operation of things, and is only organized systematic experience over thousands of years of history; that knowledge is only recorded experience which is obtained through sense perceptions.

Modern Materialism holds that there are no unchanging verities; that truth is not fixed or static, but is relative only. This philosophy itself changes as the world changes and as science reveals new facts. It is not a "completed" philosophy, and it has no fixed laws or concepts that may not be altered with further experience. That is, it is not an "absolute" or "unchangeable" philosophy. It is always a "modern" (up-to-date) philosophy, as it changes as conditions

change. The Modern Materialism of the future will thus not be the same as the Modern Materialism of the present or past.

Modern Materialism holds that the thing which comes closest to objective reality is the nearest thing to the truth, and that this emerges when an experiment is carried through to its final (true) conclusion, and not merely to its "logical" conclusion, which may not be a true conclusion. In a debate to discover this conception of the truth one debater takes theory "A" (thesis) and another takes theory "B" (antithesis). They both argue, and out of the clash of opinions the truth (synthesis) will emerge. This method of arriving at the truth is the Socrates-Plato process by which the mind uses world experience, and is the base upon which all democratic (parliamentary) procedure is built. It was used by Hegel to show how a position at one level is affirmed, negated, and then re-affirmed at a higher level. As further developed by modern materialist philosophers, and applied to the theory of change in Modern Materialism, the system is as follows:

1. Thesis (affirmation). This is the unity and struggle of opposites. Struggle is always present within this unity, although sometimes harmony is apparent there. Apparent harmony within the unity, however, is only a momentary equilibrium, and is actually not harmony, but is tension which bursts when the environment can no longer contain the contesting forces within it. The unity and struggle of opposites is the process of evolution, of contradiction, of struggle, of tension that goes on at all times everywhere in everything—in the mind as well as in matter. This is sometimes called the "logical thesis," or process.

2. Antithesis (negation). This is the overthrow of the thesis, and it takes place when the tension (momentary equilibrium) is broken. Both contestants in the struggle are destroyed (ceased to exist in their original form) at this point.

3. Synthesis (negation of the negation). This is the new, or "higher," thesis. That is, it is a thesis on a higher (more complex) plane. New opposites appear here, and the struggle begins (actually merely continues) again, but at a higher level. (Every thesis is a synthesis at a different level.) All that was positive (progressive) in

both the thesis (old) and the antithesis (also old, but not as old as the thesis) are always found in the synthesis (new).

Modern Materialism is not an infallible finished product, a dogma to be accepted without change or question. It is only a system of thought so designed that it can be changed whenever change is necessary or desirable to aid humanity. Its general principles, aims, and objectives can easily be changed, extended, or adapted to new conditions as they arise. (None of the principles of Modern Materialism are permanently fixed or static. They are necessarily of a non-permanent nature, in order that they may be changed as world conditions change. However, the fundamental principles, basic aims, and ultimate objectives of this philosophy are of such a nature that for practical purposes during the present period they may be considered at least nearly permanent. And without doubt, only minor changes in any of these principles, aims, and objectives are to be expected over a long period of time.)

There is some difference between the conclusions of many modern materialists, but this fact does not affect the general theory of Modern Materialism. (There is no disagreement as to this theory.) The only important difference of opinion between any of the modern materialists is about how and when a capitalistic society changes to a socialistic society. This difference has caused these materialists to split into several groups, each of which contends that it is the true interpreter of this philosophy. However, it is not probable that this situation has delayed the emergence of socialism, and in any case all modern materialists fully agree that regardless of how or when the change is made, capitalism everywhere will in some way finally be displaced by socialism.

When the base of Modern Materialism was laid there was no precedent from which exact deductions could be made as to how socialism would evolve out of capitalism. Marx and Engels contended that socialism could arrive only in an advanced capitalistic country, and also only by armed revolt of the workers. They held that it would first arrive in one of the most advanced capitalistic countries—probably late nineteenth century Germany, France, or England. They also held that socialism could not long survive in any country unless world capitalism was overthrown by revolution (actually, violent up-

rising by socialistic minded workers). These predictions were based on the best information available at the time. The Russians, however, mainly under the influence of Nikolai Lenin, proved that at least a *socialistic** system can arrive in a very backward capitalistic country —and perhaps in any capitalistic country—if the leaders of the capitalists are ignorant and oppressive, and the leaders of the workers are capable (well trained and bold). The Russians also proved, mainly under the leadership of Joseph Stalin, that a socialistic system can survive in a country completely surrounded by hostile capitalistic countries; that world revolution is not necessary for the survival of socialistic society within one country. Now modern materialists in some countries, but mainly in England, Scotland, Wales, Australia, New Zealand, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, the United States, and Canada, are attempting to prove that socialism can arrive without an armed revolt by the workers. These materialists use constitutional means to attain their aims (ends), and they contend that armed revolt is never necessary in countries where freedom of expression is maintained. They hold that in such countries socialism can be brought about by educating the masses in the economic and social principles of this ideology, and in the way these principles aid the poor; that the spread of knowledge of what the socialistic countries are doing to relieve the burdens of the poor will eventually convince enough people of the desirability of socialism to permit it to arrive in a mild, gradual, manner. (The basic philosophy of all socialistic countries, including those whose interests conflict with other socialistic countries, is the same. For examples, England, Sweden, the Soviet Union, China, Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and Hungary are socialistic and their interests conflict, at least to some extent, but the basic philosophy of each of these countries is Modern Materialism. Under the guidance of this philosophy the peoples of all these countries are working to establish precisely the same thing—socialism. Conditions within these countries, however, are different, and because of this the peoples of each of them use different methods to construct socialist society. For example, within England and Sweden condi-

*The definition of a socialistic system, as distinct from a socialist system, is given in chapter XXII.

tions are such that mild and gradual change is best, while within the Soviet Union, China, Poland, Yugoslavia, and Hungary conditions are such that a somewhat drastic and rapid change is best. All of these countries are changing from capitalism to socialism, and have left the capitalistic orbit and have entered the socialistic orbit. They are now moving toward socialism, and it is not probable that they will ever again move toward capitalism, but changing conditions within these countries often require a modification of their form or rate of change from the old ideology to the new one. When this occurs a philosophy is needed which can justify or rationalize the modification, and only a flexible, changing, philosophy, like Modern Materialism, can do this. Mainly because of changes in Modern Materialism, which were found necessary and made after it began to lead thought in the Soviet Union, this philosophy has now reached a stage in its development where it can justify, or at least rationalize, any conceivable method which aids the creation of socialist society.)

Modern Materialism holds that nothing should be allowed to obstruct progress; that when progressive traditions, customs, conventions, constitutions, institutions, etc., become reactionary, as they usually finally do, they must be changed or abandoned. It holds that revolt against any bad condition is justified when the majority desires change in the condition, but the minority does not permit change. Its theory of the rightfulness of revolt against bad conditions is based on the seventeenth century Whig conception of the "social contract," which Thomas Jefferson adopted and wrote into the Declaration of Independence. It holds that it is better to fight, even though many innocent may die, than for the majority to submit to great injustice. Some modern materialists, however, do not accept this theory. They contend that revolt is never just or proper; that change must never be brought about by violence. They hold that change for the better will finally come in any case as a "natural" cause, without any conscious progressive effort, and that this is the best way for it to arrive; that progress never requires a violent uprising which may hurt people, or even special effort by peaceful means which may inconvenience them. For example, they hold that capitalism will finally be displaced by socialism as a "natural" conse-

quence of unavoidable contradictions within capitalism; that an increase in technological knowledge alone will eventually make capitalistic society obsolete, and it will then give way peaceably to socialism. (The ideas of those who oppose revolt represent the "naturalistic," and "survival of the fittest," tendency in Materialism. This tendency is not common among modern materialists but it is quite common among mechanical materialists, and the combined influence of those with this tendency is great. This influence has given rise to a belief that all materialists are "naturalists," an unfortunate circumstance as it not only delays the advancement of civilization, but it also tends to make people lose their sense of responsibility for progress.)

The theory that change for the better will come as a result of a "natural" cause has a debilitating influence on human effort. When even progressives believe, assume, or accept as a good theory, that nature (or the "natural course of events") determines the future regardless of the efforts of man, they usually see no real or pressing need for doing anything about bad conditions, and inertia almost invariably overcomes them. This inertia is the strongest brake on progressives, and potential progressives, in the capitalistic world. It engenders indifference and a fatalistic approach to progress, which not only stops conscious effort to advance civilization, but also sometimes allows reactionaries to force a retrograde motion on civilization. It is undoubtedly true that the "natural" course of events (unconscious efforts of nature and man, but especially man) over a long period of time result in progress; that the sum total of all the actions of the human race, before any conscious progressive effort was begun by it, was progressive and not reactionary. That is, people for many thousands of years aided progress without having a conscious desire to do so, or intending to do so, and without knowing that they were doing so. And it is clear that the same situation exists today, but it is also clear that progress made by unconscious effort alone is infinitely slower than progress made by conscious effort. "Naturalism" of any kind, when accepted as a "way of life," weakens the urge in man to better his condition by action instead of by faith—by doing rather than by believing—therefore it should be avoided.

Modern Materialism is a philosophy of science, and it accepts every proven fact of science. It is a guide to action, but it is in, and must of necessity remain in, the field of conjecture. It does not prove anything, or claim that it can prove anything. It holds that theory (theoretical work) must keep ahead of practice (practical work), and because of this it remains ahead of science in all fields. It advances theories and collects evidence to support them, but it never, under any circumstance, advances any theory that is contrary to any established scientific fact. It presents all of its theories, and its supporting evidence, to science to prove or disprove. When any of its theories are proved by science they cease to be theories and become proved scientific facts, which are then added to the fund of human knowledge, and are no longer suitable subjects for philosophical speculation. And when any of these theories are disproved by science, that is, found to be contrary to scientific fact, they are immediately changed or discarded as being invalid, and therefore of doubtful value as subjects for even the most advanced thought. (However, even though Modern Materialism is a philosophy of science it concedes that such un-scientific devices as superstition, idealistic philosophy, religion, magic and supernaturalisms of every kind have been used for thousands of years to aid progress, and that all of these devices can still be used, at least to some extent, to aid ignorant old people in capitalistic society. But it holds that none of these devices can aid anyone in socialist society; that in socialist society everyone should depend on science, especially in practical matters.)

If the time arrives, and it is necessary to assume that it eventually will, when Modern Materialism cannot advance any theory that science has not already proved or disproved, this philosophy will lose its value, and will cease to exist. Its place will then be taken by science. Actually, Modern Materialism itself is only a theory to be used while waiting for science to produce proofs, and will finally give way to science. And this philosophy strongly insists that scientific investigation must be increased in all fields of research. It does this even thought increased scientific investigation will shorten the life expectancy of the philosophy itself.

All modern materialists are scientists, but not all scientists are modern materialists. Many scientists are mechanical materialists, mainly because Mechanical Materialism enjoys the distinction of having led the fight of science against supernaturalism, superstition, ignorance, and prejudice during the great struggle for the enlightenment of humanity in the Renaissance period, when both the scientists and the materialists took much greater risks for the sake of progress than has ever been necessary since the emergence of Modern Materialism.

CHAPTER XVI

Details of the Theory of Modern Materialism

Modern Materialism presents the most modern materialistic theory of the universe. The details of this theory are as follows:

1. Matter. This is any thing that is real and has dimensions—a material thing. (All matter is real, but not all real things are composed of matter. Systems, for example, are real—and not abstractions—but they are not material.) If a thing has dimensions it is matter (material). That is, matter is something that occupies space. (Some idealists hold that there is no conclusive proof that matter actually occupies space. To support this idea they point out that there is no conclusive evidence that the gamma ray, a material thing, occupies space. It follows, according to these idealists, that no material thing necessarily occupies space, therefore, according to materialistic definition itself such a thing may not exist. Materialists, however, contend that there is no reason for assuming that the gamma ray does not occupy space. They concede that it has not yet been properly measured, and because of this there is no conclusive proof that it exists, but they hold that it will be properly measured when measuring instruments are improved.) Every thing that has dimensions is matter; therefore all such things are related. All matter changes; therefore every thing composed of matter changes. There are four fundamental (major) fields in the organization of matter: inorganic, organic, human, and social.

2. Thought (thinking). This is a function of matter, and is an acquired skill. It is something that is produced by matter, as a result of real conditions which the senses perceive. Thoughts (ideas) are produced by the brain, which is a highly specialized form of matter. The brain produces thoughts from conditions that exist in the real world, but does so only after the nervous system receives impres-

sions from material things and delivers these impressions to the brain. There can be no thinking without the brain, but the brain alone cannot think (produce an idea) until it has received an impression through at least one of the senses, and they are influenced only by material things. That is, the starting points of all thoughts are the senses, and no one can think of anything that has not been seen, heard, felt, smelled, or tasted.

Thought is not the primary cause of things, but on the contrary is the result of things. (Mind is the highest product of matter, and it is produced by action of brain cells. Mind produces all thoughts and ideas of every kind, but it cannot produce any matter of any kind.) Basically, conditions (things) whether political, economic, social, or religious are the cause of thinking, rather than the result of thinking. Thought is the second step in the process, and not the first (as the idealist philosophers contend).

All thoughts are based on things that exist, and no thought can be based on a thing that does not exist. Also all thoughts of future things must have a foundation in things that man now knows. Man thinks of things that exist and then extends them, and develops beliefs concerning them. (This process is sometimes carried to fantastic lengths. For example, ages ago man saw or heard what he understood was a god, and from this starting point began to think about gods. This led to the development, over a very long period of time, of a vast multitude of quite different ideas concerning gods.)

3. Change. This is the normal mode of existence of all things and concepts (ideas) of things. All things, including material things, systems, conditions, circumstances, etc., and even all "fixed" scientific facts and laws, change naturally, and are constantly changing. Even all chemical elements and hereditary characteristics are always changing, but of course some are changing very slowly. That is, the process of change is never suspended, even though it is quite obvious that some things change more slowly than others. If the rate of change in a thing is very slow, as it is in a very hard stone, such as a diamond for example, the thing is considered permanent for practical purposes. Actually, however, there is nothing permanent in the universe—that is, there are no "absolutes." (All thoughts in one's head are in

constant conflict and are constantly changing, although this is not always apparent.)

Every thing in the universe exists as the result of a change from some other thing that was formerly in the universe. That is, no thing ever began from nothing. Things are not known, and cannot be known, as they are. They can be known only as they are changing ("becoming" or developing)—in the direction in which they are moving. This is because change is constant, and nothing remains the same even for an instant anywhere in the universe. Only matter and motion are eternal. (Time and space are also considered eternal in the sense that neither had a beginning and neither will have an end, but they are only measuring devices and have no real existence in the sense that matter and motion have.)

Change is orderly and is due to, and in accordance with, definite, observable, scientific laws. All change is caused by motion, which in turn is caused only by opposing forces acting on each other, within a "unity of opposites," causing internal tension in things and external tension between things. Change is simply a resolution of contradictions, and the general over-all law of change for everything, including systems, conditions, ideas, etc., as well as material things, in the universe is the same. But there are many different levels (fields) of activity in the organization of matter, and change is governed by different laws for each particular level. All of these laws are within the general law, but each of them operates differently; therefore each level of activity operates differently. In short, changes in each level of activity are due to its own particular law, and they cannot be explained by the laws for the other levels. For examples, a billiard ball moves (changes its position) because it is hit. This change is at an inorganic (mechanical) level only, and is explained only by laws for an inorganic thing. A cell grows (changes its size and shape) in accordance with laws for organic things, which are different from laws for inorganic things. A man does things at another level, due to laws which apply only to a human being, and a group of people do things at still another level, due to laws which apply only to society.

Different conditions make change different, but it is never by supernatural means (miracles, magic, etc.), teleology, chance,

haphazardness, or anything else that cannot be explained by science. Many things do not change of their own choice; they change because they are forced to do so. Man can and does create and control change. He speeds it up and slows it down, but only man consciously makes change. In unconscious nature, such as inorganic matter, change occurs because of a clash of totally unconscious units, while in man, and especially in society, a conflict of wills (aims), rather than a conflict of unconscious matter, causes change. The result, however, except the time element, is the same. That is, nothing, not even conscious man, can alter the general pattern of change development. This pattern is the same, whether it is made by unconscious nature or by conscious man, and the general laws of change are the same for both cases. Progress is inevitable in either case, and man can make progress slowly or rapidly. Man can stop progress, and even force a retrograde motion on civilization for a time, but he cannot finally prevent progress.

All modern materialist philosophers desire progress, but there is a great difference of opinion among them as to the rate at which it should advance. Some want the advance to be faster than others do. Possibly not even two of them agree on the precise speed at which it should be made. The greatest lack of unity among modern materialists is on this one important point. The result of this disagreement (clash of wills) is that progress, in the various parts of the world which are influenced by Modern Materialism, is moderate rather than fast or slow. All modern materialists within the Soviet Union, however, hold that progress should be rapid, while most of them in England, especially the "Fabians," want it to be slow, in order to avoid hardships and disruptions in the "normal" life of the people. Modern materialists in other countries prefer various rates somewhere between these two extremes.

Change is evolution, and is made necessary by change in environment. Things develop within an environment until they reach a point where the equilibrium of the environment cannot hold them. They then break out into different (new) forms. Nothing changes much in a favorable environment, and this is especially true of living things, but if the environment of life forms becomes very unfavorable drastic changes occur in them. For example, many experiments

have proved that when fruit flies are subjected to bombardment by artificial rays, under certain conditions, their offsprings will have many extra wings and legs. These offsprings are mutations, and are variations which appear in accordance with the laws of organisms in combination.

Variations in life forms appear only when the organization meets stress or strain, caused by excess or deficiency of something such as heat, moisture, nourishment, etc. The change involved in the "breakthrough" into new forms—to "higher" (more complex) levels—is almost always "progressive." That is, progress is from the simple (jellyfish) to the complex (man), for example, and this is the natural order of evolution. However, retrogressions sometimes occur in things, and this is even true of the over-all progressive movement.

Nature creates conditions which favor changes. In a warm period in pre-historic times, for example, abundant food caused animals to grow large, but later a change of climate, a shortage of food, or some other change of conditions caused the death of these animals. Also stress or strain on a wheat seed caused it to produce a grain of wheat with a thick skin (mutation). This thick skin caused the grain to resist the evaporation of moisture. This made the grain hardier, and it produced hardier wheat.

Change (or progress) is in the form of a gradually ascending spiral—with occasional big jumps—and is not circular, in a straight line, or a pendulum movement. The progress ("upward") in the spiral is from thesis, through antithesis, to synthesis, where a "qualitative" change ("jump") occurs. At this point the synthesis becomes a new thesis, and the same process continues, but at a "higher" level. The political-economic-social-religious systems of all nations, according to this theory, proceed from socialistic tribal society through slavery, feudalism, and capitalism to socialism, each stage being first a thesis, and later a synthesis (or new thesis). Each stage is "higher" (more progressive, and better for the people generally) than the preceding stage. (It is true, of course, that conditions for the great mass of the people are sometimes very hard in an advanced stage, as they were in feudal society, for example, but even so this does not invalidate the theory. And it is quite clear that the position

of the great majority of the serfs in feudal society was better and higher than the position of the majority of the slaves in the preceding slave society. In other words, the condition of man constantly improves as civilization advances. It necessarily follows that history does not repeat itself. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries some philosophers suggested that change, or redistribution, was in the form of a circle, a constant repetition of the same thing. A philosophical system based on "circles" was then developed which held that history was "going around in a circle," always repeating itself. This system did not provide for progress, and it fell into disfavor for lack of evidence to support it. There is little or no evidence that history, or anything else, ever repeats itself.)

Change is both quantitative (evolutionary, gradual) and qualitative (revolutionary, abrupt), and both kinds are occurring in all things at all times. Quantitative change represents only an increase or decrease, and is always gradual, but qualitative change always produces something entirely new, and it increases as repression within the environment increases. Qualitative change is greatest and most rapid when repression is unbearable. At this point a "break" (jump) occurs, and a new thing is created.

Change from quantity to quality, in the meaning of this philosophy, is change from old to new. For example, several molecules of hydrogen (H_6) are quantity (a "resultant," a thing or effect that is mathematically predictable in terms of the old), but hydrogen and oxygen put together in a specific way (H_2O) are quality (an "emergent," a thing or effect that is not predictable, that is, its characteristics cannot be determined in advance). An emergent is produced only by qualitative change.

Every new thing is produced by qualitative change, and only this kind of change can produce anything new. Water changing into steam, a chicken breaking out of an egg shell, and capitalism changing into socialism are examples of qualitative changes taking place. Grains of wheat larger than the seed which produced them are positive proof that a qualitative change has taken place, due to great stress or strain in the environment of the seed and the stalk. (This stalk may also have more grains on it than the other stalks in the

same field, but this will only indicate a quantitative change, and will not indicate enough stress or strain to produce a qualitative change.)

Qualitative change can be accelerated, but not very much. The "break" or "jump" in it is not made often, and it cannot be made quickly unless there is a great change in the environment of the things being acted on. When qualitative change brings anything new into being, something else (the old) is, and must be, destroyed, and there is an exact "moment" (time or period) when the change is, or can be, made. That is, there is a right, proper, or correct time (period) for the "break" to occur in every qualitative change.

4. Opposites. These are opposing forces which are in conflict in such a manner that both will finally be destroyed, and something entirely new will be created from the positive (progressive or best) parts of both of the old forces. Every thing in the universe has an opposite, nothing can exist without an opposite, and nothing can be fully explained unless its opposite is explained.

A "unity of opposites" (two opposites) is a relative and temporary condition, and is the setting in which the "struggle of opposities," an absolute (a much less temporary) condition takes place. The struggle of opposites is the internal nature of change, and it takes place within the unity of opposites. The two opposites in each system (unity of opposites) attract and repel each other at the same time, and all change goes on within this unity. One opposite is connected with the unity of opposites and the other is connected with the struggle of the unity. The two opposites are united and must remain so, or both will be destroyed. Both opposites may grow for a while, but finally when the polarity of the opposites within the unity reaches its breaking point (as far apart as the opposites can go) one opposite is forced to stop growing. The unity is then broken, and a qualitative change occurs. The other opposite then disappears for want of something to struggle against. That is, the destruction of one opposite means the destruction of the other. For example, revolutionists "destroy" themselves, in the meaning of this philosophy, when they win their fight—destroy the thing they were revolting against. (People are no longer revolutionists when there is no opposition.) Within capital and wage labor (a unity of opposites) capital organizes

(grows, develops) and wage labor does the same, but finally capital is "destroyed" and then wage labor ends.

Opposites (forces) within a system (unity of opposites) aid in destroying the system. Forces within the slave system helped to destroy slavery, forces within the feudal system helped to destroy feudalism, and forces within the capitalist system are helping to destroy capitalism. Slavery fell mainly because slaves became too costly, feudalism fell mainly because the best workers escaped from the feudal estates to the free cities, and capitalism is falling mainly because the owners of the means of production do not allow the workers to have enough of what is produced.

The solar system, the world, an ideology, a political system, an economic system, the human body, any living thing, a stone, an atom, a table, and all other things, are unities of opposites. One of the opposites within a unity of opposites is a positive force and the other is a negative force. In the world, "unconscious" nature (an opposite) is a positive force and man (the other opposite) is a negative force. In the economic system within capitalist society the employers (an opposite) are the positive force and the wage workers (the other opposite) are the negative force. Water in a kettle is a positive force, and heat under the kettle is a negative force. The positive force is the thesis, and the negative (moving) force is the antithesis. The positive force is relatively passive, or stable (in lesser motion), and the negative force is active, or unstable (in greater—more rapid—motion).

All negative forces always attack their opposite positive forces. This causes tensions within the unities, and eventually each unity is changed into something better than the old unity. In all conscious effort the negative forces always try to control and change the positive forces, and the positive forces always resist this. (The governments of the various countries of the world are a unity of opposites, one opposite being the reactionary governments and the other the progressive governments. These two opposites will finally give way to something new, a world government. This new government will be better for the majority of the people than either of the opposing sets of governments, and it will contain all that is good in both of the opposites. Also each country itself is a unity of opposites in

which reactionary and progressive forces are opposing each other. Furthermore every political, economic, social, and religious organization of every kind is a unity of opposites that contains these two forces. The progressive forces in every organization always lead the attack and always finally win, but then they usually finally become reactionary. New progressive forces then emerge to continue the struggle, but on a "higher" level than the preceding struggle. In philosophy, Idealism and Materialism form a unity of opposites, which will finally be destroyed and something new, science, will then emerge as a better "philosophy.")

Of two opposites, one is "essence" (struggle) and the other is "form" (structure). Essence is the developmental force or power, and it only can develop qualitatively so that it can help to destroy the other opposite. The essence always wins in every struggle; therefore when it is ascertained which opposite is the essence in any struggle the eventual winner is known. In the class struggle (of opposites), for example, it is clear that the wage workers are the essence and will win ("destroy" the employers), because workers do not need employers. The employers obviously cannot even try to win ("destroy" the wage workers), for then there would be nobody to do the work necessary to support the employers. (A balance between essence and form, however, may be established which will last a long time. The social system of the Hindus is an example of such a balance among people.) When repression within the environment is becoming unbearable, and the qualitative change is nearing its climax, the essence is much more prominent and effective than the form.

Struggle is always present within and between opposites. Some conditions, however, which seem to be struggles are only tensions ("differences"), and not struggles. Big business and little business, for example, seem to be in a struggle against each other, but this is only a tension. Also some things, including darkness and light, and heat and cold, that appear to be opposites are not opposites. (Darkness is only an absense of light and heat is only an absense of cold.)

5. Environment. This is the strongest and most influential factor in the life of man, and it almost controls him. Its effect on younger people is much greater than on older people, and its effect on

children is so strong that bad early environment usually cannot be overcome without great struggle or shock. Environment is usually, if not always, the strongest factor that tends to prevent change, but it also in some cases aids change. (Whatever determination, or "push," which includes the "will to learn," that man has is due solely to his environment, and this push is "higher" and much more important in the advancement of the individual than intelligence or anything else.)

Man tries to change the world to suit his needs and desires, and in doing so he makes his own history, but he has to take the world as he finds it. He is conditioned by his environment to such an extent that he cannot do all the things he would like to do. The things that are already here when he is born, and which surround him, influence and condition him. Because of this, change in society is usually not great or rapid without shock (revolution, or other great social disturbance). But man can and does, to some extent, change his environment and arrange (consciously plan) his destiny, and the more he realizes that he can do so the more he will do so.

6. Organization. This is the identity whose differences cause evolution, and is thus of great importance in change and progress. Every organization (thing) has within itself the "seed" of some new thing. And this new thing, when and if it emerges, will always be of a more complex form (order) than the thing which contained the seed. Also every thing (including all systems of every kind) has within itself an activating element that makes the thing possible and that also finally destroys the thing. (Within the capitalist system this element is the wage workers. Capitalism is possible only while there are wage workers, but the time finally comes when they refuse to work within that system, and therefore it collapses. That is, capitalism is not destroyed by socialism, as some believe, but by capitalism itself. Socialism, however, helps capitalism to destroy itself, and then takes the place of capitalism.) This activating element is "cause" (scientific necessity), and effect follows necessarily from this cause, and not from reason. That is, things are made, and events happen, from scientific necessity (cause), and not from logical necessity (reason). (The rule of the syllogism in which a conclusion is drawn from reason does not apply in this situation.)

The chief difference between forms of matter is in their organization, and is only relative. For example, all animals are essentially the same, except in their organizational development. This is considered true of all animals even as regards mind, thinking, intelligence, memory, sense perception, ability to learn, emotions, and their reactions to experiences, as well as to their physical (material) structure. Man is relatively the "highest" (most complex) animal, mainly because his brain, which produces his mind, is better organized (more highly developed) than the brain of any other animal. (At least nearly all idealists believe that man's mind is of a supernatural nature, or that it in some way connects man with the supernatural; that man has a supernatural quality—usually called a "spiritual" quality—that sets him apart from all other animals. All materialists, however, reject this general idea. They hold that man does not have any spiritual quality that other animals do not have; that whatever "spiritual" quality man may have, animals also have at least to some degree, but this quality is not supernatural—it is natural; that neither man nor any other animal has any supernatural quality; that even life itself is not supernatural. They hold that in animals, life is only the mode of existence of certain albuminous matter, a "carrier" of life.)

In the organization of matter there is no distinct "dividing line" between animal life and plant life, or between plant life and chemical compounds. All of these things come from the same source, and are in constant motion, moving toward "higher" (more complex) levels. In one of the divisions of organizations the line of ascent is through chemicals and plants to animals, but there are many other divisions. In other words, all matter is related—has a common ancestry—and is constantly evolving "upward." All things, material and non-material, are included in this progressive process, and it is ever toward more complex organizational development.

CHAPTER XVII

Politics

Modern Materialism contends that socialist democracy (democracy based on socialist economy) is the best form of government for enlightened people; that this form of government should be accepted as soon as civilization reaches the stage where it is possible, and that eventually it will be accepted by all the peoples of the world. It holds that the force of events—the advancement of civilization—will finally make all other forms of government obsolete, and they will then, of necessity, give way to socialist democracy.

Modern Materialism holds that socialist democracy will be necessary or desirable for as far into the future as can clearly be seen, and that it will be the final form of the state, but it concedes that all countries probably will have to accept *socialistic* democracy before socialist democracy can be established. And it also holds that many countries will have to accept a transition period of government by temporary socialistic dictatorship before socialistic or socialist democracy is possible. (Socialistic society exists when the government, through public ownership of the means of production and distribution, guarantees economic and social security to everyone. This is the chief principle which distinguishes socialistic society from fascistic society. In fascistic society the government attempts to provide, but not to guarantee, economic and social security through control of privately owned means of production and distribution.)

Modern Materialism holds that finally, but not within the predictable future, there will be no state (government); that no government will finally be necessary or desirable, because everyone will observe such high standards of conduct that no laws or force will be needed. People will observe these standards because it will be to their advantage to do so. This situation, according to this philosophy, will

come about after socialist democracy is firmly established, and as a consequence production and distribution are so arranged that there is always plenty of everything for everybody. In such a situation everybody finally becomes convinced that there will never again be a lack of the necessities or comforts of life, therefore, there will be no wrong-doing to secure necessities, comforts, or anything else. That is, when an economy of unlimited, unrestricted, abundance for everyone prevails everywhere, want cannot occur anywhere, and then all fear of losing economic security will be banished from the world. As a consequence of this there will be no breeding ground for lawlessness or anti-social conduct of any kind, and ethical standards will move to such a high level that the state will wither away. Laws will simply disappear because no wrong will be done, and therefore laws will not be needed. However, this philosophy holds that the state will have to protect the economy of abundance system as long as there is any danger to that system; that the state must not be allowed to wither away as long as it is needed to safeguard the right of all people to have the necessities and comforts of life.

It is self-evident that democracy is the best form of government; that the interests of the modern world require that this form of government be established everywhere in the world at the earliest possible moment. But it is also self-evident that democracy, as it is understood in the modern world, is impossible for very backward people. The experiences of more than half of the peoples of the world—their attempts to establish democracy, and their failures—during the present century show clearly that democracy, whether capitalistic or socialistic, is unsuited for backward people, especially when they are suffering hardships. Long parliamentary debates, for example, necessary in democratic procedure, are not understood or appreciated by backward people who are confronted with hunger, disease, and extreme privation. Also such debates, as well as most other democratic processes, are of little value to backward people. But more than half of the people in the world are backward in the sense that they are not educated well enough to govern themselves in a democratic manner; therefore world-wide democracy is now a practical impossibility. It follows that the educational, and the

general cultural, level of all backward people must be raised as quickly as possible. This should be done even against strong opposition from those who would retard education and progress generally.

If backward people are led away from their age-old but false and degrading superstitions, customs, traditions, prejudices, etc., they will gladly accept reforms which will benefit them—raise their cultural level—but superstitious and generally backward people will not voluntarily accept reforms necessary in the modern world. Because of this the usual democratic processes of instituting these reforms are inefficient, or too slow; therefore some compulsion ("regimentation") is necessary. Obviously, there is no alternative to the temporary inconveniences of some "regimentation," especially in the educational fields, of very backward people if civilization is to be rapidly advanced.

Under some conditions or circumstances it is better to disturb somewhat the "way of life" of very backward people for a few years, or even for a generation, than to permit their children to be enslaved by ignorance and superstition as their ancestors for many generations have been enslaved. On humanitarian grounds alone, backward people should be educated to accept a higher standard of living, even though this may be against the wishes of some of these people—those who do not want their cultural level raised. Sometimes, however, because of the very nature of things, somewhat drastic measures are necessary to educate people. (The whole history of education, from the very beginning, clearly shows that people resist education, and usually do not accept it unless compelled to do so, or conditioned by social custom to do so. Even in these cases they often do not accept any more than is necessary for survival, and they usually do not give their children the opportunity to accept more education than law compels them to. In short, man has a strong tendency to resist education, and usually will not accept it except under compulsion of some kind.)

Nothing should be allowed to prevent or obstruct the liberation of backward people from ignorance, superstition, and poverty, no matter what action may be necessary. It is clear, of course, that not much can be done toward changing the ways and outlook on life of

the older backward people, but all children of such people must be given a better chance in life than their parents had. Civilization alone demands that these children be educated at least to the extent that they will not obstruct progress as much as their parents did.

Capitalistic government was for at least four centuries the best form of government under which ignorance, superstition, and poverty could be reduced. This political order greatly reduced these evils, and raised the cultural level generally, during the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, wherever it prevailed. But capitalistic government is now declining and as a consequence cannot reduce these evils as well or as quickly as socialistic government can. In areas where capitalistic government originated and once was the greatest progressive force, this form of government cannot now reduce these evils at all, nor in any other way do anything that will raise cultural levels. In Europe, for example, capitalistic government has declined as a progressive force to such an extent that it now only aids attempts to preserve the old culture. It does not raise the cultural level, and its influence on culture is negative—at best conservative and at worst reactionary. This is quite evident, if not obvious, in the present chief capitalistic states of Europe, that is, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Eire, the Netherlands, Belgium, Greece, and Turkey. The cultural level of these states has ceased to rise, and would decline very rapidly were it not for the fact that they have accepted many socialistic reforms.

Socialistic government is now rising, and is now the dominant form of the state in the eastern hemisphere—the hemisphere which in nearly all cases has led the way in political, economic, and social reforms. This political order has recently displaced capitalistic government in many countries, and is now so firmly established that it cannot be displaced by any other known political order. Also socialistic government is spreading and it is reasonable to assume that this general situation will continue until all capitalistic government has disappeared.

Because capitalistic government is declining and socialistic government is rising, the best interests of civilization require that the process of raising the cultural level of backward people be under the leadership of socialistic government, and it is in many countries. In Asia

and eastern Europe, for example, socialistic dictatorship is raising this level, and in western Europe socialistic democracy is raising it. However, socialistic democracy is using methods which it has borrowed from socialistic dictatorship. (The cultural level of backward people cannot be raised unless at least some form of compulsion is used. This is true whatever agency is involved in raising the level. Even capitalistic democracy uses compulsion, mainly by means of a public school system, to raise the cultural level of backward people. The methods used by socialistic or capitalistic democracy tend to spread the process of raising the level over a much longer period of time than do the methods used by socialistic dictatorship. Because of this, the cultural level of very backward people under the leadership of democratic government is raised much more slowly than it is under socialistic dictatorship.)

Socialistic dictatorship can raise the cultural level of very backward people, and thereby prepare them for democracy, more quickly than any other agency, therefore it is well suited for this work in Asia, where there are at least a billion people who must be considered "backward." Because of this circumstance alone, socialistic dictatorship is a necessary agency in the present period of history, and will remain necessary until the living standard of the Asiatic peoples is raised to a much higher level than it is now. (The cultural level of backward people was for centuries raised by "colonialism," a political system which resulted from military conquest and political subjugation of people having a low cultural level by people having a higher cultural level. Colonialism is a paternalistic, or "benevolent," form of "imperialism," an ancient, but now thoroughly discredited, means by which countries and nations were conquered and exploited. It also is an aspect of capitalistic dictatorship, but when it was used by progressive capitalists, as it was during the expansionist period of capitalism, it aided progress. Until the twentieth century colonialism probably was the best, and undoubtedly was the most practical, means by which the cultural levels of primitive peoples could be raised, but because of the spread of education it is not now progressive. All nations are now capable of raising their cultural levels without foreign political intervention, and therefore colonialism cannot be justified under any pretext. Colo-

nialism is now considered by practically all materialists as being of no value to progress, and in most areas where it is still being used, little better than the most reactionary form of imperialism.)

Modern Materialism holds that socialistic democracy is very much more desirable than socialistic dictatorship, but that the latter is usually necessary or desirable for a country under one or more of the following six conditions: 1. When the vast majority of the people are backward (very poor, ignorant, and superstitious) and are being cruelly exploited by a small minority because of their helpless condition. (This condition exists in many countries, but especially in southern Asia, Africa, and South America.) 2. When there is danger of attack by a strong enemy. 3. During war. 4. During the reconstruction period following a very destructive war. 5. During a severe economic crisis in peace in which the death of many people by starvation, disease, and exposure is the alternative to a strong centralized political-economic-social system. 6. When a reactionary minority seizes control of the state by force and prevents parliamentary action. (That is, when a reactionary government is set up by force, as was the government of Benito Mussolini in Italy, Chiang Kai-shek in China, Adolf Hitler in Germany, and Francisco Franco in Spain, it should, in the interest of the majority of the people, be overthrown by force, and a socialistic dictatorship can best organize and control the forces necessary to overthrow a reactionary government.)

The only difference between socialistic democracy and socialistic dictatorship is political —the degree of state control. The economic, social, and religious systems in both forms of government are the same, but much less control is needed or exercised in the former than in the latter. (Socialistic democracy requires fewer laws than socialistic dictatorship, and socialist democracy will require fewer laws than socialistic democracy. After socialist democracy is established laws will "wither away" as civilization advances and their places will be taken by customs, according to this philosophy.)

Modern Materialism considers the term "socialistic dictatorship" to mean a strong, but temporary, centralized cooperative (socialistic) political-economic-social system, by a "left of center" coalition of scientists, intellectuals, and progressives generally, all of whom

are well versed in materialistic philosophy, that operates primarily in the interest of the poorer elements of society. The primary duties of this system are to establish security for the poor, raise the economic and social levels of the poor, and to establish a system which will insure a more equal distribution of the good things of life. When these things have been done, at least to the extent that retrogression is not probable, this system of government gives way to "socialistic democracy." (When a "socialistic dictatorship" assumes power, and during its early stages, it concerns itself mainly with the interests of the very poor—those who have practically nothing of economic value but their labor power. Because of this it is sometimes called a "dictatorship of the proletariat," but this is not correct, and is misleading. A "socialistic dictatorship" requires the assistance of a large percentage of the highly educated people of the country concerned, and such people are not usually found among the "proletariat.")

A socialistic dictatorship is, in fact, more than a government, as it concerns itself with all phases of human existence. It gives each of these phases whatever attention is necessary or desirable in the over-all effort to aid the poor and to advance civilization, and makes no effort to limit itself to politics, as government in a true capitalist society is expected to do. In its operation a socialistic dictatorship is somewhat like a democratic military system in both war and peace. Team work and the desire to excel primarily for the benefit of the nation, rather than for the private interest of the individual, provide the initiative for action within a socialistic dictatorship system or a democratic military system. Initiative, enterprise, and competition are just as strong, keen, and effective within these systems as they are anywhere else, but they are in the interest of the group as a whole. Production within either system is for use, and is not for profit. In fact the thought of profit ("profit motive") does not enter into the calculations of either of these systems.

A socialistic dictatorship is a "left of center" system, and therefore is on the same end of the ideological scale as democracy. Because of this it does not threaten democracy, and is quite different from, and actually almost the opposite of, a dictatorship of "right of center" systems, such as those of Falangists and Fascists, for examples. (The

"right of center" organizations are the real enemies of democracy. [Most of the leaders of these organizations, especially those at or near the end of the ideological scale, contend that their dictatorships must be permanent and that democracy and democratic principles must be destroyed. All leaders of socialistic dictatorships totally reject these ideas.)

The functions of a socialistic dictatorship are to establish, support, preserve, protect, defend and extend democratic principles, primarily among the very poor, but this form of government does not deny any of these principles to the rich or any other people. Socialistic dictatorship is never used when democracy is possible, and whenever it is used it will establish democracy as soon as possible. It, therefore, is a non-permanent system, and will give way to democracy when the majority of the people of the country concerned are ready for democracy. Every democracy of every kind now in existence, or that ever existed, was established by "left of center" groups (progressives of the period) who in doing so were always opposed by "right of center" groups (reactionaries of the period).

Modern Materialism is a champion of both democracy and socialistic dictatorship, but it contends that the latter system should never be used in an advanced (progressive) country except during a great national emergency or in any other country except as a temporary expedient to establish or to defend natural human rights. It further contends, however, that because of the comparatively recent great advancement of the science of destruction, action to safeguard a country may sometimes be impossible under any form of government except socialistic dictatorship.

A socialistic dictatorship permits all of the resources of a country to be employed in the shortest possible time for the defense of a country. It is well suited for quick and powerful action, as was clearly demonstrated by the Soviet Union in the Second World War. (The government of the Soviet Union is the best example of a socialistic dictatorship, but there are, or have been, many others including: The 1792-1795 revolutionary government of France; the 1871 Paris Commune government; the 1910 revolutionary government of Portugal; the Sun governments of China; the Obregon, Calles, and Cardenas governments of Mexico; the 1918-1919 Eisner gov-

ernment of Bavaria; the 1919 Kun government of Hungary; the 1919 Spartacist government of Berlin; the 1934-1944 government of Cuba; the 1936-1939 Loyalist government of Spain; and the post Second World War governments of Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Finland, Albania, Mongolia, China, Korea, and Burma. The 1945-1951 Attlee Labor government of Great Britain had some of the characteristics of a socialistic dictatorship but it actually was a socialistic democracy.)

The word "dictatorship" when used in connection with a socialistic dictatorship only means government (the state). It does not mean rule by one man, or a small group of men, as Falangists, Fascists, and all other reactionaries understand it to mean. Some materialists consider the word "democracy" to mean "capitalistic dictatorship" when the economic system within the particular democracy referred to is capitalistic. For example, they consider the United States government a capitalistic dictatorship which operates in the interest of capitalists and the rich generally, and not in the interest of all the people as it is supposed to do; that the rich, and the capitalists generally, receive from this government more favorable treatment and consideration than the poor and the workers generally. They hold that the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of the United States government are not independent of each other, and do not "balance" each other, as is generally supposed, but on the contrary actually work together as one body primarily in the interest of capitalism; that for all intents and purposes these three branches actually form one branch—the executive branch—of a capitalistic dictatorship. However, the great majority of the modern materialists consider this an over-simplification, but not an entirely incorrect estimate, of the situation. These materialists hold that although government in the United States occasionally moves toward a capitalistic dictatorship, and may become such a dictatorship, it is in fact a capitalistic democracy (democracy based on capitalism). They hold that capitalistic dictatorship is fascism, the last stage of government by reactionary capitalists, and the kind of government to which reactionary capitalism "normally" leads; that the over-all political-economic-social-religious situation in the United States is such that fascism is not inevitable there; that fascism can be avoided

there, as it has been avoided in many other countries, by alertness on the part of the progressive forces. They hold that a country is governed by a capitalistic dictatorship only when its chief ruler is a dictator such as Mussolini, Chiang, Hitler, Franco, etc.

Modern Materialism contends that as a result of the defeat of the fascist governments (capitalistic dictatorships) in the Second World War, civilization reached the stage in its development at which only three kinds of governments were necessary or desirable anywhere in the world. These governments, each of which is best suited to some countries, are: capitalistic democracy, socialistic democracy, and socialistic dictatorship. It holds that no other kind of government is now necessary or desirable anywhere, or will ever be, until socialist democracy is possible.

Modern Materialism contends that socialist democracy will require less political control than any other form of society, but it concedes that no country is now, or can soon be, ready for such a society. Before socialist democracy can safely be established the following four conditions must exist in the country concerned:

(a) It must be free from each of the six conditions which make socialistic dictatorship necessary or desirable. Actually, it is necessary not only that none of these conditions exist, but also that society be at such an advanced stage that they are at least almost impossible. (No country now meets this requirement.)

(b) The mass base of the population must be well educated. Practically all of the people must at least be free from illiteracy, superstition, and fear of the "supernatural." (No country now meets this requiriment, but several countries including in particular the Soviet Union, Sweden, Norway, and Denmark are approaching it.)

(c) The productive capacity must be very high. Factory mass production must be far advanced, large farms must be mechanized, machines must do nearly all of the hard work, and manual labor must be a relatively unimportant factor in the economy. (The United States meets this requirement, but no other country does.)

(d) The people must believe in the principles of socialism to the extent that they not only willingly cooperate to extend these principles, but also consider this the paramount public duty. (The Soviet Union

is the only country which now meets this requirement, but others are approaching it.)

Capitalistic democracy is the best form of government for only a few countries at the present period of history, but these include the United States, by far the greatest and most advanced capitalistic country. This form of government is now well suited only for underpopulated countries having great undeveloped natural resources, such for example as Brazil and Canada. (In the nineteenth century capitalistic democracy was the best form of government for practically every country in the world, and was ideal for many countries. In that century, Russia, for a good example, could have advanced rapidly under capitalistic democracy, and had not the Russian Revolution taken place, Siberia with its tremendous undeveloped natural resources and its very small population undoubtedly would now be well suited for capitalistic democracy. In both the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, capitalistic democracy was the ideal form of government for all countries in the western hemisphere.)

Capitalistic democracy is not suited for any country which does not now have this form of government, and probably will not again be established in any country. Some countries which have had great increases in population and decreases in natural resources have recently changed their governments from capitalistic democracy to socialistic democracy. Other countries, including the United States, which have long enjoyed capitalistic democracy are now experiencing difficulties of an economic-social nature, and because of this fact are approaching the stage where this kind of government may not be able to meet the needs of the people—and therefore may have to be changed. (The difficulties which face the government of the United States are not due to overpopulation or lack of resources, but to the fact that a comparatively few people have gained control of nearly all of the wealth of the country. In "boom," or even in "normal," periods this situation does not hurt, or even inconvenience to a clearly noticeable extent, the great majority of the people, but in times of economic crises it places them at a serious disadvantage. In such periods the great majority are at the mercy of a very small minority for even the bare necessities of life. Such a situation is undemocratic, and will not be tolerated indefinitely by people who

have been conditioned over a long period of time by democratic principles of freedom—as have the people of the United States. That is, these people have a "background" of democracy, and because of this will not long submit to any form of autocracy.)

Socialistic democracy is the best form of government for many countries, including England, Scotland, Wales, France, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland, Australia, and New Zealand. This form of government is best suited for politically advanced countries which are overpopulated and have limited natural resources. Some of the countries that now have capitalistic governments would profit by changing their governments to socialistic democracy, but most of these countries are not ready for such a government.

Socialistic democracy cannot safely be established in a country whose people are backward, or in any other way not ready for this form of government. This is because the dangers and difficulties involved in establishing and maintaining socialistic democracy in such situations are too great, and probably would permit fascistic elements to seize control of the country before the socialistic government could become strong enough to prevent this. For example, delays due to parliamentary procedure would favor the development of fascistic elements, which in turn would create disorder. This would hamper democratic processes and eventually weaken the state to a condition in which these elements could, and probably would, seize power. In such a situation only the immediate establishment of socialistic dictatorship can save a country from fascism, but in some cases—as was the case in Spain in 1936 for example—even this action cannot preserve socialistic society. (The socialistic dictatorship which the Soviet leaders established in Russia prevented the establishment of fascism there. When the Czarist political-economic-social order collapsed, the country was thrown into great disorder—anarchy—and the immediate and pressing needs of the people were very great. The Russians then attempted to establish socialistic democracy, but were unable to do so because of the very nature of democracy itself. When this attempt failed, the Soviet leaders established socialistic dictatorship, and this government established law and order, and then began to establish socialistic society. Socialistic democracy has not yet been established in the Soviet Union, but a solid foundation for it has been

laid, and it probably will be established in the comparatively near future. The Soviet peoples are now perfecting and extending socialistic principles, and in this way building socialistic democracy. From this form of government, socialist democracy will eventually emerge.)

Socialistic dictatorship is now the best form of government for all countries in Asia and eastern Europe, and will continue to be until socialistic democracy can be established in these countries. (The very great majority of the peoples of these countries were for many generations steeped in state imposed ignorance, superstition, and anti-democratic principles, and until as late as a generation ago had never had any experience in political leadership. Because of these circumstances, these peoples did not develop democratic traditions, customs, conventions, institutions, etc., and therefore have no "background" of democracy as "western" peoples have. Mainly because of this situation, the peoples of Asia and eastern Europe are not prepared to establish, or to accept, either kind of democracy—capitalistic or socialistic. However, since the early part of the present century enlightened leaders have been introducing progressive ideas to these peoples, and these ideas are spreading. Most of these peoples are now governed by socialistic dictatorships, and are being indoctrinated in the principles of socialistic democracy, and because of this eventually will be prepared to accept such a democracy. If all of these peoples accept socialistic dictatorship their progress will be much more rapid than it can be under any other political system. Socialistic dictatorship can prepare these peoples for socialistic democracy within a comparatively short period of time, but it is not probable that any agency could prepare them for capitalistic democracy before this form of government becomes unsuited for any of the countries in which they live.)

Socialistic dictatorship is unsuited for some countries, but especially the United States, Canada, England, Scotland, Wales, France, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Australia, and New Zealand for good examples, and progress would be retarded, rather than advanced, should these countries now adopt this from of government. These countries, however, are now either in the process of becoming socialist democracies, or because of their advanced political condition are capable of becoming such democracies without having to undergo

the inconveniences which socialistic dictatorship necessitates. The political-economic-social-religious situation which now exists in these countries, except the United States and Canada, has more of the characteristics of socialism than of capitalism, and therefore they really are "socialistic" countries. (They are in the socialistic "orbit," and as a consequence will from now on always move toward socialism and away from capitalism.) And because of the political experience and traditions of the peoples of these countries the possibility of them ever needing socialistic dictatorship is remote. Obviously, these peoples have the ability and the political power to solve their problems by democratic—mainly parliamentary—processes. It is, of course, possible that fascistic elements may seize control of one or more of these countries, and therefore revolutionaries will have to set up a temporary socialistic dictatorship to overthrow these elements by military force, but under "normal" conditions, and especially if another world war can be avoided, the peoples of all of these countries will retain their power to make, in a peaceful manner, whatever changes in their political-economic-social-religious system that may be required by the advancement of civilization.

In India and in all other areas where the political power of the priesthood is strong the time necessary for a socialistic dictatorship to establish socialistic democracy will be longer than it will be in China and other areas where this power is weak. This is because the priesthood will use its political power to delay change, and time will be needed to overcome this power. It will be especially difficult to establish socialistic democracy in southern Asia, for example, because the great majority of the peoples—mainly Hindus and Mohammedans—of this vast region are very ignorant and superstitious and are greatly influenced in all matters by their religious leaders.

In most areas where the Hindu or the Mohammedan religion predominates, violent opposition, encouraged by religious leaders, probably will be presented, and if so will have to be overcome, before socialistic democracy can be established. In areas where the other religions predominate, however, very little violent opposition to socialistic society of any kind will in future be due to religious leaders, because these religions can easily be adapted to suit political, eco-

nomic, and social changes, a circumstance which in the modern world usually tends to decrease violence.

The Christian priesthood has great political power, but only the most ignorant and reactionary members of it now use this power to encourage violent opposition to progressive changes in society. The educated and progressive members now use only mild and passive tactics in efforts to prevent such changes, which usually delay them only slightly. (This approach to affairs involving political action by Christian leaders is comparatively modern, and is due to the fact that the Renaissance broke the power of the Christian priesthood to profit by violence. Ever since the beginning of the Renaissance, whenever Christian priests have encouraged violence to prevent a progressive change in society the result of their action decreased respect for them and in nearly all cases weakened their political power. Most Christian religious leaders have learned from this experience, and as a result the transition of many countries in Europe from capitalistic systems to socialistic systems has been accomplished without violent opposition by the Christian Church.)

The Buddhist priesthood has very little political power, and therefore is incapable of causing much violence even if it should try to do so. In China, the largest and greatest Buddhist country, for example, the Buddhist priests never have had much political power, and because of this never interfered with changes of a political, economic, or social nature, except to delay them somewhat. (During the revolution which moved China out of the capitalistic "orbit" and into the socialistic "orbit" the Buddhist priests offered little or no opposition to the great changes which occurred, and they quickly adjusted themselves to the new order of things. Whatever opposition they presented to the changes was due mainly to their inertia and their strong pacific tendencies which usually cause them to oppose any form of violence.)

Socialistic dictatorship is a severe form of government when judged by the standards of democracy, as it restricts the freedom of the individual, therefore should be avoided if possible without causing a serious delay in the advancement of civilization. And many countries almost certainly can avoid it, if another world war can be avoided. The United States and Canada, for good examples, in all probability

will never need socialistic dictatorship if another great war can be prevented. This is because the great majority of the peoples of these countries have always lived under a democratic form of government and are familiar enough with democratic principles and practices to solve their problems by democratic processes. Also these peoples have long standing democratic traditions—their ancestors for generations having experimented with and developed democratic principles which they passed along to their descendants. In other words the peoples of these countries have been conditioned by their environment and training to understand and accept democracy. They have no "background" of dictatorship, as had the Russian and Chinese peoples, for good examples, when these peoples accepted socialistic dictatorship.

It is beyond the bounds of probability that the peoples of the United States and Canada could be conditioned to accept socialistic dictatorship, during normal peace conditions, without very severe dictatorial methods which would be considered intolerable to the great majority of these peoples. Because of this, and also because these peoples have had great experience with democratic principles and methods it is unthinkable that they will ever need—or could in any way be benefited by—such a dictatorship as exists in the Soviet Union or in China, except in war or other very great emergency. The situation in the Soviet Union and in China, however, is quite different from that in the United States and in Canada. The peoples of the Soviet Union and China had no "background" of, or training in, democracy and could not possibly have benefited by democracy had they been given it, when they accepted socialistic dictatorship after the collapse of their former governments. They simply were not prepared to accept either the freedoms or the responsibilities of democracy. They had been conditioned by centuries of oppression to expect government, of whatever nature, to be severe and even cruel. Because of this situation the peoples of the Soviet Union and China do not consider their present dictatorships oppressive or severe. Quite the contrary, they consider their present governments mild as compared to their former governments.

There is no good evidence that the socialistic dictatorships which exist in the Soviet Union and in China, or in fact any other socialistic

dictatorship, have ever taken away from the people more freedom than they have given the people. These dictatorships have taken away some freedoms, but they have given the people other freedoms which are of more value than the ones taken away. In most, if not all, cases the freedoms taken away were at best of little or no value to the great majority of the people, and the freedoms given were of value to all of these people. For example, one of the "freedoms" taken away from the people was the freedom to collect money from ignorant people in exchange for superstitious beliefs. This freedom was of value only to those who were gaining an economic advantage over the great majority by dispensing superstition. In place of this "freedom," which was of no value whatever to the very great majority of the people, the dictatorships gave the people economic freedom (economic security) which is of great value to all of the people.

Some countries, but especially China, Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and Hungary, in which the living and general cultural standards of the great mass of the people were very low before the Second World War, adopted socialistic society and accepted socialistic dictatorship after that war, and ever since then these standards have been rising much faster than ever before. But the progress in these countries is due solely to the fact that they accepted socialistic dictatorship. Because the great majority of the people of these countries were very ignorant and superstitious they could not have made much progress had they accepted capitalistic, or even socialistic, democracy.

All countries that have adopted socialistic society, whether under a democratic or a dictatorship form of government, are progressing faster than ever before. The chief reason for this is that in all socialistic society the state guarantees economic and social security for everyone, and the people finally begin to understand that the state is interested in their welfare and will protect them in adversity, to the best of its ability. The people then give whole-hearted support to the state, because they know that it is to their advantage that the state be strong enough to give them whatever aid they may need. The result of this mutual assistance and cooperation generally between the people and the state is accelerated progress. However, progress under a socialistic dictatorship is much faster than it is

under a socialistic democracy. (This is due to the fact that democratic processes are of necessity slow.)

Socialistic dictatorship was of the greatest value to the revolutionists during the later stages of the Chinese Revolution. That Revolution was won solely because the Chinese revolutionists finally established such a dictatorship. It could not possibly have been won under any other form of government. Actually, the revolutionists tried hard for many years to win their struggle by using democratic methods, but because of the very low cultural level of the great mass of the people this was impossible. Sheer necessity forced the revolutionists to adopt socialistic dictatorship and introduce socialistic principles into the struggle. The result was a very great victory for socialistic society. It was second only to the Russian Revolution in so far as the advance and spread of socialistic principles were aided, and because of the enormous number of people involved it would have been first in importance had not the Russian revolutionists won their fight first. The Chinese revolutionists profited by the experience of the Russian revolutionists and thus were able to avoid many mistakes which the Russians made, such for example as violent disagreements among themselves which weakened and prolonged the Russian conflict. Also lessons learned from the Russian Revolution enabled the Chinese revolutionists to recognize, and take full advantage of, opportunities which arose during the later stages of the struggle. (The Chinese revolutionists began their revolt against the old order, which was feudalism in the process of changing into capitalism, under the influence of "western" idealistic philosophy, mainly theological Idealism and Pragmatism, which they had received from Christian missionaries and "western" businessmen. The revolt did not make much progress in its early stages even though the Chinese political-economic-social order was very unstable and was guided only by "Chinese" Idealism, a weak, "fatalistic," philosophy that was mainly a combination of Taoism, Confucianism, and Buddhism, because the philosophy of the revolutionists was of a strongly individualistic nature. This philosophy lacked a theory of coordination—of cooperative effort—and as a consequence could not effectively guide revolutionary action.)

Mainly because of the nature of their philosophy the Chinese

revolutionists, during the early stages of their struggle, were split into a great many different contending factions pursuing different aims. There were at least a thousand different, independent and semi-independent, armed revolutionary groups which fought each other more often, and with greater effect, than they fought the forces that supported the old order. As a result there was no co-ordinated revolutionary effort or clearly indicated progressive "direction" to the Revolution, and except as a demoralizing agent it had little influence on the old order. This was all that could be expected of the Revolution during this period as the philosophy of the revolutionists did not then provide for cooperative effort or unity of purpose. However, after the Russian revolutionists, under the influence of Materialism, overthrew their old order the Chinese revolutionists accepted this philosophy as their guide. They then began to cooperate and soon thereafter coordinated all of their efforts. They were then able to consolidate whatever gains they made, and as a result by 1951 had established socialistic society throughout the entire mainland of China. There is no doubt whatever that this was possible only because Materialism gave "direction" to the revolutionary forces.

The majority of the peoples of some countries, including especially India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Syria, and Turkey, which are within, or comparatively near, the "orbit" of the Soviet Union would be benefited if those countries joined that Union. This is because the great majority of these peoples are very ignorant and superstitious, and as a consequence are at the mercy of a small ruling class that prevents them from improving their condition. This ruling class exploits these peoples in a harsh, and sometimes cruel, manner mainly by the use of the superstition of charlatans. In the interest of humanity this situation should be remedied as soon as possible, and the Soviet Union could do this faster than any other country, mainly because it has had more experience than any other in freeing peoples from superstition and in quickly raising cultural levels of very ignorant peoples. However, it will be to the advantage of many backward countries, including some which have already adopted socialistic society, to remain outside the Soviet Union. This is mainly because of geographical and cultural "background"

reasons, but also because it may not be advisable for one part of the Soviet Union to adopt socialist democracy until all the other parts are ready for this form of government. (Within one great union of many nations and races, all of which are working hard to develop a better society for all, it probably would be socially disadvantageous to recognize one sub-division as being more advanced politically than another.) In any case, within the Soviet Union the backward areas tend to delay the establishment of socialist democracy within the advanced areas. The situation outside the Soviet Union is quite different, and any country may become a socialist democracy whenever the six conditions necessary for the establishment of such a democracy are present. (Many materialists hold that socialist democracy cannot be established anywhere in the world until all military forces, as distinguished from police forces for use only to preserve order within their own country, are abolished. Most "realists," including the Soviet leaders, accept this view as correct or at least reasonable.)

Progress toward forming socialist democracy in the Soviet Union has been slow, and the restrictions of the socialistic dictatorship have been more rigid than many progressives in capitalistic countries believe necessary or desirable. Because of this, these progressives hold that the Soviet leaders have failed in their efforts to create socialist democracy, and therefore should give way to other leaders. This estimate of the situation is faulty and unrealistic as it does not take into account the tremendous difficulties which the Soviet leaders have had to overcome.

It is true that the Soviet leaders have not established socialist democracy, but this is due to exceedingly unfavorable conditions with which these leaders have had to contend, and not to incompetence. It is not probable that any other group of leaders could have accomplished more in the same period of time, under the same conditions. The general backwardness of the people, the great area involved, primitive conditions of production, difficulties of transportation and communication, civil wars, interventions, the necessity of maintaining a great military establishment, and the Second World War are good examples of the problems with which the Soviet leaders have had to deal. Obviously, these leaders could not have immediately established even socialistic democracy, as neither the peo-

ple nor the country were ready for it, but they did establish socialistic society. They did this, however, only because they used socialistic dictatorship. There was no other way by which they could establish socialistic society, and thus lay the foundation for eventual socialist democracy. (The Soviet leaders are now slowly changing their socialistic dictatorship to socialistic democracy, but the rate of this change is determined by constantly changing world conditions; therefore it is not possible to determine when socialistic democracy will be established in the Soviet Union.)

Modern Materialism holds that socialistic democracy is the most advanced form of government that man has achieved. This form of government now exists in several countries, and undoubtedly will be adopted by others as soon as they are ready for it. Socialistic democracy, however, is possible only when the great mass of the people within the country concerned recognize the necessity for a high level of social responsibility, and actually accept a much larger measure of this responsibility than they ever accept in capitalistic society. Before such a condition can be attained, education in social cooperation and social responsibility is imperative. In fact, unless the people believe in, and willingly accept, the principle of social cooperation they will not accept enough social responsibility to make socialistic society possible. It follows that unless capitalistic society educates the people to value social cooperation, and accept a large measure of social responsibility, it is not probable that socialistic democracy can be established without the aid of a temporary socialistic dictatorship.

The principles of modern social cooperation and social responsibility were almost unknown to the Russian people when their comparatively young—less than a century old—capitalistic society collapsed, and was succeeded by socialistic society. Capitalism had not educated the people in these principles, mainly because it does not readily lend itself to the dissemination of such principles, but also because the change from the old order to the new one was made prematurely. Actually, capitalism had displaced feudalism in only a small part of what is now the Soviet Union, and had not firmly established itself anywhere in this vast area, when the force of events brought about its end. At that time the Russians had to adopt a

socialistic system, even though they were not at all prepared for it, if they were to save anything of value from their collapsed political-economic-social order, or probably even to survive as an independent nation. The alternative was complete chaos, and a rapid retrograde motion of Russian civilization which could not have been halted before the cultural level of the people had descended at least to a position not higher—but probably much lower—than that of the peoples in western Europe during the Dark Ages. The Soviet leaders set about to prevent this, and they did so by establishing a socialistic system on a national scale. This is one of the greatest and most important facts of all history, for never before had this been done. Another important fact of this matter is that while establishing this new system the Soviet leaders were faced with what seemed to be insurmountable difficulties. They not only had to establish a new society out of the wreckage of an old one, but had to do it while under severe military attacks from many capitalistic countries that were determined to prevent the emergence of socialistic society. Actually, these leaders were opposed by the combined political power and economic wealth of the entire capitalistic world which then controlled at least ninety-five per cent of the resources of the world. (Capitalism ended in Russia mainly because it was unable to meet the needs of the people during a very severe economic crisis, which was brought about by the First World War, but also because rich capitalistic exploiters refused to allow any of their wealth to be used to feed, or otherwise care for, people in great distress. This crisis was so severe that it completely discredited capitalistic society, and all of its leaders, in Russia, before this kind of society ever had the opportunity to develop and mature there. Capitalistic society not only did not exhaust any of its progressive possibilities in Russia, as it did in many other countries, but also did not develop a scientific educational system or a mass production factory system, both of which are absolutely necessary for the efficient operation of socialistic democracy. In short, capitalistic society did not prepare the Russian people or their country for socialistic democracy. Because of this circumstance, the Soviet leaders could not establish such a democracy. They had no choice but to set up a temporary socialistic

dictatorship, if Russian society was to survive above its level in pre-Czarist times.)

The situation that faced the Soviet leaders was quite different from that which faced the socialistic leaders of England, for example. In England capitalism was fully developed before it was displaced by socialistic society; therefore socialistic democracy was immediately possible, and was established. (England is now well within the socialistic "orbit"—moving inexorably toward socialist democracy —and as a consequence cannot return to capitalism, but because her political system is democratic she cannot move rapidly toward socialism. This, however, is not necessarily an unfortunate circumstance, as the English people have been conditioned by generations of constant democratic effort to prefer gradualness in their political, economic, social, and religious changes, and would offer strong resistance to rapid or abrupt changes even of a very progressive nature. The same is true of the peoples of the United States and all other English speaking nations. These peoples prefer gradual changes, and strongly dislike abruptness in matters of national importance. It follows that any political system which uses rapid or abrupt methods to effect changes, as all dictatorships do, would, under most conditions, be impracticable for use by these peoples. They certainly would reject, as of no value whatever, such a system should it be offered to them in normal times. Because of this general situation, which should be self-evident, little or no responsible progressive, or even revolutionary, opinion within any of the English speaking nations considers a socialistic dictatorship, such as that which exists in the Soviet Union for a good example, suitable for any of these nations, except under circumstances which require action of the most extreme and drastic nature to save the people from imminent disaster.)

Nearly all of the important capitalistic governments in Europe—which included some of the best examples of capitalistic democracy and capitalistic dictatorship in the world—went down to defeat in a great welter of blood and destruction, unprecedented in horror and suffering in one of the most brutal wars of history—the Second World War. A direct result of this war was the establishment of socialistic governments in many countries in Europe and Asia, including Great Britain, France, Germany, Yugoslavia, Austria, Hun-

gary, Albania, Denmark, Norway, Finland, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, China, Korea, Indo-China, Burma, and Ceylon. This, obviously, was the most important result of the war, but other important results were that it strengthened all existing socialistic society, increased the spread of socialistic ideas and principles all over the world, and weakened all capitalistic society that was not overthrown.

The present world situation is essentially the same as was the European situation between the world wars. World capitalism is now opposing world socialism, and war depends almost entirely on what the supporters of capitalism do, and very little on what the advocates of socialism do. Socialistic society does not need war for any purpose except defense, and therefore will try hard to avoid war, but capitalistic society sometimes needs war for one reason or another, but mainly as a stimulus for business,* and therefore may attack the existing socialistic structure. Of course, socialistic society will defend itself if attacked, just as it did during its emergence in Russia and in the Second World War, but it will use military force only if absolutely necessary.

Because the capitalistic world is declining, it may, in a desperate effort to save itself, or at least to extend its existence, launch another great military attack on the Soviet Union, similar to the attack it made under the leadership of the Nazi-Fascists. The object of such an attack would be to destroy the chief military force which supports socialistic society, and in this way begin the destruction of all socialistic principles and ideas. Because of the danger of such an attack the Soviet Union will be ready to defend itself until this danger is removed. That is, the Soviet Union will from now on always have ready a sufficient military force to repel any attack by the capitalistic world until there is conclusive evidence that the capitalists will not again try to destroy socialistic society by military force. (The Soviet leaders have no doubt whatever about the eventual victory of socialism over capitalism, whether in peace or in war. They much prefer peace to war, but they hold that war would accelerate the progress

*Both world wars and the Korean ("police action") war greatly aided United States business and American prosperity generally.

of world socialism, and in this they are in agreement with at least practically all materialists.)

It is to the interest of the Soviet Union, and to socialistic society in general, that world peace be maintained. This is because the over-all world situation—and especially the comparatively recent trend of events in the development of civilization—favors the Soviet Union and the development of socialistic society. This situation is strengthening the position of socialistic society and weakening all capitalistic society. War would not, in any way, delay the general advance toward world socialism, and undoubtedly would accelerate this advance, but even so this ideology can best develop in peace—and by peaceful means. Because of this, the Soviet Union will try to keep the struggle between capitalism and socialism on a peace basis. In the event that war cannot be avoided, however, the Soviet leaders will endeavor to wait for the capitalistic world to make the first military attack, because this procedure will tend to discredit the leaders of capitalistic society with the masses.

It is greatly to the interest of the Soviet leaders to have the confidence of peoples in capitalistic countries, and they try to gain this confidence, but whatever confidence they now have, or may gain, will be lost if the Soviet Union makes an unprovoked military attack on the capitalistic world. (All leaders in socialistic society realize that in order to win their struggle against capitalism they must merit the favor and support of a large percentage of the poor in capitalistic countries. They also realize that the poor always desire peace, and therefore will not support any socialistic program that uses war as an instrument of policy. That is, the socialistic leaders know that they cannot resort to aggressive war and also hold the confidence of the poor in any country, including their own. Because of these circumstances, these leaders plan their political program on the theory that peace is essential to progress; that peace should always be maintained if possible without inviting an attack by capitalistic forces; that war always increases the burdens of the poor, and therefore should never be used except when necessary in connection with defense measures. It necessarily follows that the Soviet Union, for example, will not attack the capitalistic world with military force,

unless forced to do do. That is, that Union will not become involved in a great war, except under provocation of such a nature that there is no alternative. It probably will not attack unless the capitalistic world adopts a very menacing military attitude, and even in this case it probably will delay action until the masses, themselves the chief opponents of war and the chief sufferers in war, demand it. This is almost self-evident, mainly because all of the socialistic leaders throughout the world fully expect the capitalistic world to continue to decline and finally disappear even in the most favorable of peace conditions. Obviously, it would be pointless, and quite irrational, at this period in the development of socialistic society for it to attack with military force its opposing society which is expected to give way to socialism in any case. However, the more revolutionary elements of socialistic society will favor, and in some cases strongly support, internal revolts of a socialistic nature within capitalistic countries whenever such support is practicable. These elements have supported such revolts in many countries including China, Indo-China, Indonesia, the Philippine Islands, Malaya, Burma, Korea, and Greece since the Second World War and there is no reason for believing that this activity will cease as long as capitalism survives.)

All capitalistic society is "honey-combed" with highly educated, intelligent people who believe that capitalism will eventually be displaced by socialism, and are arranging their affairs so that the "inevitable" change will not affect them adversely. Many of these people are public officials and they use their positions to assist a smooth orderly change from capitalism to socialism. They see nothing disloyal, unethical, immoral, or socially disadvantageous in this activity, but on the contrary consider it quite proper, publicly beneficial, and at least in some cases a patriotic duty. (These people may be compared with the Abolitionists in the United States prior to the Civil War. They are to capitalism what the Abolitionists were to slavery. For political, economic, and social reasons, however, practically all of these people avoid public endorsement of socialism, and when circumstances force them to state their position on ideologies they usually insist that they are believers in capitalism. It is obvious, of course, that they have little or no choice but to do this, as their value

to their cause would be weakened if it were generally known that they favored socialism.) No comparable situation exists in socialistic society, and in all probability will not develop there, as all the educated, intelligent people in this kind of society are convinced that socialism is now emerging as the dominant world ideology. Certainly no thinker in socialistic society is now basing his actions on the theory that capitalism will emerge as the victor in its struggle against socialism, or believes that socialism, when it is finally established, will eventually be displaced by capitalism.

Every country within the Soviet Union is "socialistic," is moving toward socialistic democracy, and eventually will become a socialist democracy. Also any non-socialistic country within, or which may come within, the "orbit" of that Union will become socialistic and move toward socialistic and socialist democracy. (This theory, which is held by all modern materialists, causes fear among many nationalistic people in the non-Soviet world. They feel that it implies that the Soviet Union will eventually "absorb" every other country in the world. This is a misconception of Modern Materialism which, because of capitalist propaganda, has developed greatly since the Second World War. Actually, there is no logical basis for fear of such a tremendous expansion of the Soviet Union, and little or no evidence to support the idea. No doubt, the "orbit" of the Soviet Union will be extended, and more countries will set up socialistic systems, but it does not follow that all countries will become parts of the Soviet Union, or will be controlled by that Union. It certainly is beyond the bounds of probability that any part of the western hemisphere, for example, will become a part of the Soviet Union or will be drawn into the "orbit" of that Union. Such an eventuality is inconceivable even if capitalism collapses abruptly and completely everywhere in the world. It is true that socialistic principles are being adopted and extended in many parts of the western hemisphere, and that this philosophy holds that eventually all countries in this hemisphere will become socialistic, but the only way any of these countries will be joined politically with the Soviet Union will be through a world organization of nations, such as the United Nations, or some other kind of world government. This philosophy, however, does hold that finally a world government, uniting all nations in a

union or federation of nations, will be formed. It also holds that a "one world" union of nations is not only desirable, but is absolutely necessary for the best interests of the vast majority of the peoples of the world.)

There is no doubt that until a "one world" government of some kind is formed there will always be conflict between the many politically independent states of the world. This conflict will not end when a world government is formed, but such a government will bring it under control to such an extent that it will present infinitely less danger to the peoples of the world than it now does. Actually the conflict then will be mainly one of ideas, and this will result not in war and destruction, but in a "leveling out" process in which the ideas of all nations will be exchanged. The good (socially advantageous) ideas of each nation will then be accepted by all other nations and put to use, and the bad (socially disadvantageous) ideas will be discarded.

Modern Materialism contends that except under socialistic government progress is slow because all other political systems tend to delay change. It holds that reactionary and conservative leaders in capitalistic society delay change, mainly by preventing the great majority of the people from learning the truth about public affairs; that only a comparatively few people in capitalistic society know enough about the world situation to understand its development, or to act intelligently to protect their own interests when decisions must be made. It contends that as far as their understanding of, and interest in, the world political-economic-social-religious situation is concerned, all adults within capitalistic countries can be divided into five groups—Reactionaries, Conservatives, Liberals, Progressives, and the Masses—approximately as follows:

1. Reactionaries (about three per cent of the population). These people are on the right end of the world ideological (political-economic-social-religious) scale, and they constitute the chief force which delays progress. Some of these people understand the world situation, and all of them are interested in it, but only from the standpoint of preserving or increasing their personal fortunes. This group includes practically all of the undesirable elements of society, and its ethical and moral level is very low. Most of its members are dishonest, un-

scrupulous, selfish, greedy, and interested only in obtaining, by any means, money and power for themselves. Many of them are exceedingly cunning and shrewd, and some are utterly depraved and vicious, but even so they hold highly respected positions of great power, such as legislators, judges, priests, executives, etc., in the state, the church, and the business world. Practically all criminals, grafters, crooks, gangsters, racketeers, charlatans, and evil doers of every kind, from the clever type, who often are known as "respected" citizens, to the most brazen of swindlers, are in this group. Many members of this group give money to religious organizations, charity "drives," beggars, etc., and because of this are considered especially good people. Some are highly educated and intelligent, and have made some concessions to progress and in this way have acquired the reputation of having progressive tendencies. Actually, however, these concessions were made only to avoid having to make greater concessions, and no member of this group ever intentionally aids progress, or has any progressive tendencies. These people are class conscious, believe that a small class should rule, and that all others should obey. None of them desire a rise in the cultural level of the poor, or a change in the distribution of the good things of life that will cost them any money or power or prestige.

This group initiates all reactionary movements, and always supports all of these movements. It opposes all leftward (progressive) movements at all times, and is the most effective force which prevents the advancement of civilization. It always tries to prevent progress, and as a means to this end it opposes the education and enlightenment of the Masses. Ignorance, superstition, supernaturalism, and fear are its chief allies, and because of this it especially opposes any extension of state-supported scientific education in any form (in colleges, schools, libraries, science museums, etc.). It contains all of the leaders of the elements of society that will establish fascistic dictatorships whenever any opportunity presents itself, and these elements always try hard to establish such governments whenever they believe that the alternative is the emergence of socialistic society. Leadership in this group is based on economic power and not on education or intelligence.

The Reactionaries constantly try to form an inseparable union with

the Conservatives, and these two groups always work together in either a loose or close alliance, depending upon the needs of the situation, to protect their interests. These groups control the economic base and the "social superstructure" in all capitalistic society, and in this way control most of the wealth and politics of the capitalistic world. They use every device within the "social superstructure" to its fullest extent to control the Masses. This control, which is the chief brake on progress, is maintained by the use of three distinct methods, each of which is designed primarily to weaken the influence of the Progressives. The first and most effective method is deception (false and misleading propaganda by means of newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, books, the radio, colleges, schools, churches, social clubs, lecture platforms, word of mouth, etc.), and this is used at all times. But when deception ceases to be effective enough to accomplish its purpose, as is often the case when the Progressives extend educational movements, force (police, law, courts, jails, intimidation, etc.) is added. When the combination of deception and force is not effective enough, reform (a concession to progress) is added. However, reform is never great, but instead is always just enough to undermine, and therefore to weaken, the position of the progressive forces of the period and locality. There is a difference of opinion between the Reactionaries and the Conservatives as to which of these methods is best and how they should be used. The Reactionaries favor force, supported by unlimited deception (entirely false propaganda constantly disseminated), while the Conservatives favor limited deception (misleading, but not necessarily false, propaganda) supported by reform.

2. Conservatives (about ten per cent of the population). These people occupy the position immediately "right of center" on the ideological scale, that is, they are between the Reactionaries and the "center" (the dividing line between the "rightists" and the "leftists"), and for all practical purposes may be considered "moderate" Reactionaries. Their understanding of, and interest in, the world situation is about the same as that of the Reactionaries. They differ from the Reactionaries mainly in that they do not initiate reactionary movements, and support such movements only when they believe that a choice between reaction and progress is necessary. They are

more intelligent and realistic than the Reactionaries in that they realize that reaction leads to violent upheavals in society, and that capitalistic society is weakened by such upheavals. They try hard to prevent any change in the political-economic-social-religious order of their country, but usually do not concern themselves with matters beyond national boundaries. They would be satisfied if the world order were "frozen" where it is in such a way that it could not be moved any farther toward the left. Because of this attitude, they usually constitute an effective brake on progress. They never consciously aid progress. (This group is usually considered to have a strong stabilizing influence on capitalistic society, but actually it does not. Due to many factors, but mainly to technology, which this group is forced by its own interests to aid, progress is made and capitalistic society undergoes change. Because of this action the position of this group becomes untenable, and therefore of necessity has to be, and is, changed. This action is constant, and it prevents this group from stabilizing anything, even of course itself. Eventually, due to the force of events in a constantly changing society, this group will not be able to exist as a separate ideological force, and will disappear. The more reactionary of its members will then join the Reactionaries, and most of the others are expected to join the Liberals. During the present period, one of the chief endeavors of Progressives is to make Liberals out of Conservatives.)

3. Liberals (about five per cent of the population). These people occupy the position immediately "left of center" on the ideological scale, that is, they are between the Conservatives and the Progressives, and for all practical purposes may be considered "moderate" Progressives. Their understanding of, and interest in, the world situation is greater than that of the Reactionaries and Conservatives, but somewhat less than that of the Progressives. They believe that a "natural" development of civilization is best, and because of this they, in "normal" (politically quiet) periods, usually try to avoid taking an active part in the development of the world situation, but in times of crises they are always active in support of progress. They differ from the Conservatives mainly in that they always support progress rather than reaction when they are forced to choose between

the two concepts, and that they never consciously support any reactionary movement.

The Liberals very often aid, but never initiate, progressive movements, such for examples as the Roosevelt "New Deal" and the British Labor Party movements. They favor a slow leftward movement of the world political-economic-social-religious order, and make little effort to maintain this order. They aid the leftward movement by supporting scientific and educational institutions, organizations, movements, etc., and by defending freedom of thought and action. They accept some measure of social responsibility, and are the most tolerant people in any society. In fact, they are so tolerant that they sometimes condone anti-social acts on the ground that it is usually socially disadvantageous to restrict personal freedom however it is expressed. They hold that laws relating to freedom and liberty should be interpreted in the most liberal manner possible consistent with the safety of society. Their ideological position—which they readily change whenever necessary to meet changing conditions—tends to extend the life of capitalistic society, and they form the chief bulwark against the violent overthrow of this society. They form the mass base of the progressive movement in all capitalistic society, and with the sole exception of the Progressives are the only people in this society who ever consciously advance civilization. Eventually, according to this philosophy, they will join the Progressives. This action will be of the greatest value to progress.

4. Progressives (about two per cent of the population). These people are on the left end of the world ideological scale, and they constitute the chief force that advances civilization. They understand the world situation better than any other group and they take a very keen and active interest in it. They constantly study it, and draw intelligent conclusions from their study. They are educated, intelligent, socially conscious, honest, humane, unselfish; and their ethical and moral codes are higher than those of any other group. They accept a full measure of social responsibility, and are the only people in capitalistic society who seek to advance civilization as fast as possible. They are believers in true democracy, and they give much of their time, talents, and material resources to aid in the establishment of such a democracy. All progressive leadership—all initiative in pro-

gressive thought and action—is always taken by these people. They, however, control only a very small part of the wealth in capitalistic society, and therefore have practically no economic power. Because of this their leadership is based almost entirely on education, intelligence, and a determination to make the world a better place in which to live.

Because of the advancement of civilization and progress generally, actions and ideas that are progressive at any given time and place may not be progressive at another time or place. Times and standards change, and in some cases the same actions that made a person a progressive in his own time would have made him a reactionary if he had taken them at a later time. For examples, the actions of Ikhnaton, Buddha, Confucius, Pericles, Asoka, Aquinas, and Rousseau made them progressives of their respective times, but by present-day standards these same actions would make men reactionaries. It follows, therefore, that people can be judged only by the standards of their periods in history; that the condition of society in which people lived must be considered when determining their position on the ideological scale. To determine whether a person was progressive, the principal question, if not the only one, that need be answered is: Did he give more aid to what was progress than he did to what was reaction in his time and locality? If the answer is in the affirmative, he was a progressive and no change in the definition of progress after his time can change his status. (A few modern materialists hold that a question of "intention," or "motive," is involved here; that a person cannot be classed as a progressive unless his actions were intentionally progressive. But nearly all modern materialists contend that a person must be judged by his actions, and not by his intentions or motives; that there is no satisfactory method for determining what were the intentions or motives of a person who is no longer alive, and therefore the point is too theoretical to be of practical value.)

Except for comparatively short periods in ancient Greece and Rome, progressives had very little influence on civilization for thousands of years. This was due to the fact that in early civilization competition was always very great, a circumstance which tended to prevent the emergence and development of social consciousness. For ages, per-

sonal reward was considered the chief reason for action, and no conception of duty to humanity was developed until civilization was well advanced. And there is very little evidence of the existence of a concept of social responsibility before it was sponsored by Buddha, Confucius, and Greek materialist philosophers in the sixth century B.C. This sense of duty to humanity—the "Golden Rule" principle—developed very slowly, and as a result, progressives seldom became well known, and were never numerous anywhere in the world, until the Renaissance. Even now, after more than twenty-five centuries of social consciousness, the progressives do not constitute more than five per cent of the great figures who have passed into history. However, from the beginning of the Renaissance the percentage of progressive world figures has been constantly increasing.

Listed below, in at least approximately the order of their birth, are one hundred people of great importance in the development of civilization who were progressives of their period and locality. These people occupy different positions on the ideological scale, some being very far from others, but all of them were "left of center" on the scale as it was in their time. It is obvious that some of these people were more progressive, or revolutionary, than others, but all of them were progressive at least to the extent that they defied or ignored the accepted conventions, traditions, and dogmas of their time in efforts to advance civilization, and all had at least some success. Because of this they aided progress, and therefore by definition were Progressives. Some modern materialists consider some of these people Liberals rather than Progressives, but it is doubtful if anyone who is familiar with the world political-economic-social-religious situation considers any one of them a Reactionary or a Conservative, that is, a "rightist" (one who is "right of center" on the ideological scale). In short, it may be safely assumed that practically all "educated" people would concede that all of these people were "leftists" in that none of them were "rightists." It is, of course, clear that the number of great Progressives who have passed into history can only be a matter of opinion, but any comprehensive list of them almost certainly should include those named below.

Ikhnaton
Thales
Jean Marat
L'Ouverture Toussaint

Solon
Buddha
Confucius
Heraclitus
Anaxagoras
Pericles
Protagoras
Democritus
Aristotle
Epicurus
Asoka
Julius Caesar
Lucretius
Jesus
Pelagius
Arius
Abelard
Averroes
Roger Bacon
Wycliffe
Wat Tyler
Huss
Copernicus
Luther
Zwingli
Henry VIII
Coligny
William the Silent
Mohammed Akbar
Bruno
Francis Bacon
Galileo
Gustavus Adolphus
Descartes
Cromwell
Locke
Spinoza
Newton
Voltaire
Benjamin Franklin
David Hume
Jean Rousseau
Denis Diderot

Jeremy Bentham
Honore Mirabeau
Johann von Goethe
James Madison
Marquis de Lafayette
Georges Danton
Count de St. Simon
Andrew Jackson
Napoleon Bonaparte
Robert Owen
Jose de San Martin
Simon Bolivar
Auguste Comte
Victor Hugo
Richard Cobden
Ludwig Feuerbach
Guiseppe Mazzini
Benito Juarez
John Stuart Mill
Guiseppe Garibaldi
Abraham Lincoln
Charles Darwin
Karl Marx
Herbert Spencer
Friedrich Engels
Robert Ingersoll
Georges Clemenceau
Alexander Kropotkin
Thomas Masaryk
Eugene Debs
Woodrow Wilson
Georg Plekhanov
Sidney Webb
Jane Addams
Hjalmar Branting
Aristide Briand
David Lloyd-George
Sun Yat-sen
Nikolai Lenin
Friedrich Ebert
Francisco Madero
Leon Blum
Mikhail Kalinin

Samuel Adams	Maxim Litvinov
Baron d'Holbach	Leon Trotsky
George Washington	Ernest Bevin
Thomas Paine	Kemal Ataturk
Thomas Jefferson	Franklin D. Roosevelt

5. The Masses (about eighty per cent of the population). These people have but very little understanding of, or interest in, the world situation, and only a few of them try to understand it. Practically all of these people are honest, humane, unselfish, and have high ethical and moral codes. Some of them would like to know something about the economic and social aspects of the world situation, but they seldom ask questions about these matters. Unless unemployed, and in want, they do not inquire about bad economic and social conditions within the capitalistic system. Fear of antagonizing employers, and others upon whom they must depend for a living prevents them from inquiring publicly about socialism and the spread of socialistic ideas. This fear also prevents them from taking an active part in movements that would improve their economic and social conditions, unless these conditions become unbearable. They wish to avoid, at almost all cost, jeopardizing their means of existence; therefore they seldom protest, and never rebel, except as individuals in misguided outbursts of anti-social conduct, against any but the greatest of injustices.

Only a few members of this group hope for a better life on earth for themselves, but many of them expect a reward in the "next" world for enduring their hard life in this one, and charlatans constantly assure them of this reward—if they follow the advice of the charlatans. Most parents in this group hope that their children will have a better life in this world, and solely because of this hope some of these parents take a little interest in movements to make conditions better for them here. Nearly all of these people are always under strong economic pressure from the Reactionaries, who hold them in virtual economic bondage by means of the "social superstructure," but very few of them are ever aware of this.

Necessity forces the "Masses" to spend practically all of their effective time and effort in a struggle for existence for themselves and their dependents. Their spare time is spent almost entirely on the aspects

of amusements and diversions that require no education, intelligence, or ability on their part, and that are of practically no educational value to them from the standpoint of public affairs. Their chief intellectual efforts consist of reading sport news (mainly about ball games of various kinds, prize fights, and horse races), popular fiction, news articles (which almost always are "shaded" for propaganda purposes), and listening to propaganda radio programs. Religion, liquor drinking, card playing, comic strips, talking about nothing in particular mainly to "pass the time," and attending motion picture shows and sports events are their chief escape mechanisms. Most of the people in this group are guided in world affairs almost entirely by their emotions and prejudices, which are developed and conditioned by very efficient reactionary propaganda. Because of these circumstances they remain ignorant of public affairs and in times of crises they are led by clever propagandists who appeal almost solely to these emotions and prejudices. These people often become victims of charlatans, and then actually work and fight hard against their own best interests!

In "normal" times the Masses always support the Reactionaries and oppose the Progressives. They do this in spite of the fact that the Reactionaries are the chief enemies of the Masses in every field. The Reactionaries never under any condition or circumstance intentionally aid the Masses, while the Progressives always do this in every way. Actually, the Masses usually act against their own best interests in all matters when dealing with the other groups. The reason for this peculiar situation is that the Reactionaries and Conservatives control nearly all means of efficient and effective propaganda dissemination in capitalistic society, and use these means to mislead the Masses. The Reactionaries constantly tell the Masses that bad economic and social conditions are due entirely to the Progressives and Liberals; that all the troubles of the Masses are caused by the Progressives and Liberals; that the Progressives are trying to change things, and therefore are disloyal to the nation and the established order; that the Reactionaries are intensely loyal to the nation and the established order, and therefore deserve the support of all good people. The Progressives have no effective means to refute or offset this propaganda, and this condition keeps the Masses at the mercy

of the Reactionaries in all things (political, economic, social, and religious) nearly all of the time.

Except during "boom" times, the Masses usually are involved in economic difficulties, and because of reactionary propaganda they blame the Progressives for this state of affairs. Actually, however, practically all of these difficulties are due to the Reactionaries, and in no case to the Progressives, but the Reactionaries prevent the Masses from knowing this. Because of this situation the Masses often suffer from fear, anxiety, and worry, and become bewildered and frustrated, but they seldom question reactionary propaganda, or make any other effort to ascertain the facts of it. Nearly all members of this group consider belief more reliable and important than understanding, and because of this are often led by charlatans who encourage belief and discourage investigation. They believe that their economic condition can improve only if the economic condition of the Reactionaries improves; that in no case can they themselves appreciably improve their position in society; that one's place in the scheme of things is determined mainly by "God's will," fate, or chance, and therefore efforts to change from a poor place to a better place are usually wasted. As a result of this attitude their interest in the struggle between progress and reaction is seldom more than that of spectators, and they rarely enter it except when their condition becomes so desperate that they are faced with the choice of revolt against the established order or of becoming virtual slaves. They then enter the struggle under conditions of high emotion, and commit excesses of violence which they would never think of under ordinary circumstances. (This was particularly noticeable in the French, Mexican, and Russian revolts against the vested interests.)

The Masses never consciously aid progress, but they do aid it when their actions are guided by the Progressives, as sometimes is the case in a crisis. This has been clearly demonstrated in many great revolts against oppression and reaction, including the wars of the Reformation, the American, French, Mexican, Russian, and Chinese revolutions, and the Second World War, when the Masses formed the base of the progressive forces.

The Masses are always the potential mass base of all progressive movements, and are the deciding factor in all revolts against tyranny.

All modern materialists recognize the necessity of winning the support of the Masses, and constantly try to merit this support. But these materialists realize that the Masses cannot be moved to fight for progress—or even for themselves—except under the pressure of a great crisis, and that even in this circumstance the Reactionaries sometimes retain firm control of them, as was the case in Germany, Japan, Italy, Austria, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, and Finland in the Second World War.

The percentages (three-ten-five-two-eighty) given above vary for different countries, but in no capitalistic society is the percentage of the Reactionaries lower, or that of the Progressives higher. In some areas, but especially in Africa, South America, India and southern Asia generally, the percentage of the Masses is higher—and no doubt is as high as ninety-five per cent in the more backward areas. (At least seventy-five per cent of all voters within the twenty-one American republics, all of which are capitalistic democracies or capitalistic dictatorships, are members of the Masses group. Because of this, elections in these republics are not reflections of enlightened public opinion, but rather are mainly reactions to emotional disturbances. These elections provide good evidence of the ability of propagandists to arouse emotions and prejudices to such an extent that presumably sane and literate adults not only will vote for or against things that they know nothing about, but also will often knowingly vote against their own best interests. Clever, but misleading and often false, propaganda is the chief factor in all of these elections. As a result of this, the candidates who are the most proficient at appealing to the emotions and prejudices of the electorate are usually elected. In other words, the candidates who give the best demonstrations of clever political trickery—who avoid issues, facts, etc., but are the most effective in arousing passions in their favor—nearly always become the "representatives of the people" in these republics.)

Eventually, according to this philosophy, the Reactionaries and the Conservatives will be eliminated, and the Masses will be absorbed by the Liberals and Progressives. After this, the Liberals will be absorbed by the Progressives. When this action is completed, progress will no longer be limited or hampered by any ideological force. Then prog-

ress will depend at least almost entirely on science, and will advance as fast as natural conditions and technology will permit. However, within most capitalistic society the Reactionaries and Conservatives may remain strong, and in virtual control, for many years. (Because of knowledge gained from recent experience in socialistic government, it is reasonable to assume that the Reactionaries could, and almost certainly would, be eliminated or rendered impotent in any country which would set up a socialistic dictatorship for a few years. The Soviet Union practically eliminated the Reactionaries, and greatly increased the number of Progressives, in twenty years by using such a government, even though it was handicapped by lack of precedent.)

Some modern materialists hold that there is a small, but quite active, segment of the population which is "unreliable" politically, and therefore cannot be included in the above mentioned groups; that this segment is composed of people who have been badly mistreated by capitalistic society, and constitutes an "unstable fringe" on the extreme ends of the ideological scale; that the great majority of the members of this segment are, and always remain, on the "left" end of the scale, and always try to aid progress, but their attempts to do this sometimes actually aid reactionary movements; that this segment constantly forces public attention on the defects within modern civilization, and therefore is of some value to progress. Most modern materialists, however, do not concede that such a segment exists, and hold that there is no adult in any society who cannot be placed somewhere in the five great divisions of individuals. (Capitalistic philosophers generally concede that this segment exists, but hold that its members are merely the failures and misfits, emotionally, or financially, of society who cause "trouble" for their "superiors," and all other "good" people; that only the members of this segment who are on the "right" end of the ideological scale are of any potential value—as strikebreakers, etc.—to society; that all the others are "subversive," or at best worthless "trouble-makers," and should be treated accordingly.)

CHAPTER XVIII

Economics

Modern Materialism contends that economics is primary to politics, sociology, or religion; that the base of every society is economic; that the economic forces (means and mode of production and distribution) are the dominating forces of history; that history began with man searching for food; that man had to have food, shelter, and clothing before he could consider politics, sociology, or religion. In other words, this philosophy contends that history starts with economics, and not with politics, sociology, or religion. It further contends that the situation is the same now as it was when history began; that even today, after thousands of years of experience with civilization, man must have food, shelter, and clothing before he can consider anything else.

Modern Materialism holds that the ideology (political-economic-social-religious system) of every country in the world developed in the following manner: At the beginning, and for thousands of years afterwards, the interest of man was almost entirely economic. Food was his chief need during this long period, and nearly all of his effort was spent in obtaining food. There was then practically no politics, sociology, or religion. Later, when the family began to develop, codes of morals and ethics were established to guide individual conduct into certain patterns that would help the group. These codes were not laws, but were merely rules for social conduct so designed that they aided those who observed them, as well as the group as a whole. This was the first sociology, and although these rules eventually became tribal customs there was no politics or religion at this stage of man's progress. Man then had only economics and sociology. Finally, however, when the family began to expand into the tribe, a strong man obtained some authority over the group, and was rec-

ognized as its leader and protector. This was the first clearly recognizable political arrangement, and at this stage man had for the first time politics, economics, and sociology. At first the power of the leader and protector was severely limited, but it gradually increased, and finally he became lawgiver and judge, as well as leader and protector. He then established law and order, and he had the necessary power to enforce his mandates. After this, religion was introduced to explain things, and it was especially useful for justifying the political-economic-social system. The tribe grew, merged with other tribes, and finally became a nation that settled on land that it claimed as its country. The "way of life" of every nation on earth was developed in this manner. And the differences between the ideologies (political-economic-social-religious systems) of the many countries of the world are due entirely to different environments of a great many people over a very long period of time—without much doubt more than a million years.

The economic system of every country in the world has been changed or modified from time to time to meet changes due mainly to the advancement of civilization, and every country must of necessity continue to change or modify its economic system. However, at present nearly all the peoples of the world are living in either a capitalistic or socialistic system, and whatever changes or modifications that are now taking place are within these systems.

Civilization has now reached the stage where only capitalistic or socialistic economic systems are possible, and it is not probable that any other kind of economic system will ever again be adopted by any country. Only remnants of the other known kinds of economic systems now exist in the world, and these remnants are disappearing under the impact of new, and rapidly developing, economic principles of a strongly socialistic nature. From now on for as far into the future as can be seen every country in the world will have to depend on either a declining capitalistic economic system or some form of an expanding—rising—socialistic economic system. The other known economic systems, tribal, slave, and feudal, are obsolete—unable to meet the needs of any large group in the modern world—and no other kind of system is now even within the domain of ideas.

About half of the peoples of the world are now living in a capitalistic

economy. The philosophical theory of this economy has been altered considerably since it was first introduced, during the early stages of the Renaissance, but even so it is still based on "individualism" in private enterprise. This theory concedes that a large number of people are doomed to economic failure from the start, but it holds that all who deserve to be successful will be successful; that those who fail deserve their fate, because of some error in judgment or other "shortcoming." This is the "survival of the fittest" theory of early capitalism, and it was staunchly defended by capitalistic philosophers until the successful revolt of the workers and peasants in Russia. Since then, however, the theory has become somewhat unpopular with most of these philosophers, and capitalists generally are losing interest in it. Capitalistic philosophers had contended that the poor workers and peasants were the "unfit" while the rich capitalists and the landlords were the "fit," but in the class conflict in Russia the workers and the peasants survived while the capitalists and landlords did not. Obviously from the standpoint of capitalism there is a flaw in the theory. Perhaps the poor are the "fit" and the rich are the "unfit"! (Most capitalists, and especially the extreme reactionary ones, reject this idea. They hold that the victory of the workers and peasants was only a temporary one—and at most only one battle in a long war which is still being fought all over the world; that the socialistic system that was established in Russia will eventually collapse, or will be overthrown by capitalists. This, they hold, will vindicate the "survival of the fittest" theory as applied to capitalism. But not since 1919, when the Russian socialistic armies defeated the first great attack, by invading armies from capitalistic countries, on the Russian socialistic system, has there been any evidence, or reason for believing, that capitalism can be re-established in Russia, and as time passes the philosophical problem raised by the outcome of the Russian Revolution is becoming more difficult and embarrassing for capitalistic philosophers. A few of these philosophers contend that the economic system in Russia is not really socialistic, but actually is something else; that it has been successful only because it contains certain essential elements of capitalism and that these elements will finally dominate it. That is, they hold that it is a peculiar kind of capitalism, which will finally give way to "true" capitalism.

These last named philosophers, however, have never been representative of the capitalistic group, and they are decreasing in number and influence.)

During its rise, capitalism was very closely allied with science, and its philosophers constantly attacked all forms of superstition, mainly because belief in superstition interfered with scientific capitalistic development. These philosophers also attacked the theory, widely held until late in the Renaissance period, that economy is inseparable from supernaturalisms. Since the latter part of the nineteenth century, however, capitalistic philosophers have avoided attacks on superstition and supernaturalisms in economics on the ground that such attacks upset the "normal" contentment of the masses, a result which they hold is no longer of value to progress, even though it was of the greatest value to progress when the ideological struggle was between feudalism and capitalism. They hold that at the present period of history it is best for progress that only a relatively few people—those among the upper classes who can be trusted to use "discretion" with scientific facts that may upset the masses—should be informed as to the truth about superstition and supernaturalisms; that the masses should remain relatively ignorant of such matters because the present condition of capitalistic society demands that the masses remain more or less contented with economic conditions as they now exist, a situation that would be impossible if the masses were too well educated. They hold that the danger involved in "disillusioning" the masses more than counter-balances any good it would do; that education of the masses, as to the nature of the universe, should proceed very slowly, and with caution, as otherwise distrust of long established economic, social, and religious institutions which support the capitalistic system may develop to such an extent that the accepted values of capitalistic society would be undermined. This, they rightly hold, would cause unrest, and revolt against the established order probably would follow. That is, the philosophers of capitalism now hold that the process of freeing the masses from dependence upon or belief in superstition and supernaturalisms involves danger to the established capitalistic order, and therefore must not be allowed to proceed rapidly—if at all. In the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries the situation was exactly the opposite

from the viewpoint of these philosophers and the new, developing, ideology which they were sponsoring. Capitalism then was a revolutionary, progressive, ideology which was opposing feudalism, the established ideology, and it was greatly to the advantage and interest of the capitalists that the masses be educated to the extent that they would understand that superstition and supernaturalisms were devices that the rulers in feudal society used to control and exploit the serfs. It was then absolutely necessary for the success of capitalism that there be unrest among the masses; that the masses be aroused and inflamed to the extent that they would revolt against the old established order (feudalism). In order to bring about this condition the capitalists worked hard to "disillusion" the masses as regards superstition, supernaturalisms, etc. They did this with every means at their disposal, and the best means they had was materialistic philosophy. They spread this philosophy as widely and as thickly as possible, and it was the chief force that weakened the political, economic, social, and religious institutions of feudalism. In fact it was the weapon that finally overthrew feudalism.

Modern Materialism holds that at the present stage of human progress a cooperative (public enterprise) economic system is better for the great majority of the people than a competitive (private enterprise) system. It holds that capitalism, a private enterprise system based on production for private profit, has passed the highest point of its usefulness in meeting the needs of the majority of the people and is now declining; therefore it should be displaced by socialism, a public enterprise system based on production for use. It further holds that socialism not only will meet the needs of the majority of the people better than capitalism ever again can, but also that it will produce, and equitably distribute, such an abundance of the good things of life that all want and fear will disappear entirely. (Because of this stand on the struggle between capitalism and socialism, Modern Materialism may properly be considered the philosophy of socialism. Actually this philosophy is inseparable from socialism, and wherever it becomes the dominant philosophy in any area socialism is certain to become the dominant ideology in that area. However, even though Modern Materialism holds that capitalism is now declining and therefore is not progressive, it does not imply that

this ideology has always been reactionary. Quite the contrary, it holds that capitalism was progressive until as late as the twentieth century, and did not become reactionary until after socialistic society became possible on a nation-wide scale. This did not occur until machines and factories were developed which permitted rapid mass production of a great many different useful things.)

Modern Materialism contends that those who control the economic base of the nation control the "social superstructure" of the nation; that this superstructure changes only as the economic system changes. It contends that everything changes as the productive (economic) forces change, and that the development of these forces causes all progress. It holds that the moral, ethical, and legal aspects of any society follow, and are the direct result of, changes in the productive forces within the society. That is, these aspects merely justify and rationalize the changes in society which the productive forces have already forced society to accept.

All economic systems contain contradictions (unavoidable struggles within themselves). The greatest contradiction within the capitalistic economic system is within its system of production and distribution, but chiefly in the factory, the most "revolutionary" of the many great capitalistic contributions to progress. A capitalistic factory operates with great efficiency, but only because it is very highly "socialized." The workers in a factory in capitalistic society work on the highest plane of social cooperation, just as they do in the most advanced socialistic society. Their efforts are completely "socialized," but because of the "production for profit only" aspect of the capitalistic system the products of their efforts are not "socialized." That is, the products are not distributed in a socialistic manner, but in a capitalistic manner. This condition, which has been developing for many years, results from the fact that a few people (capitalists) own or control the factory (including the tools), while many people (workers) work in it but do not own or control it or its products. (This was not the case in the early period of capitalism. Then the factories were small, really only shops, which in many cases were partly owned by the workers, who often owned most of the tools and controlled, to a considerable extent, the distribution of the products. Now the capitalists own everything—the factory, the

tools, and the products—and the workers own nothing but their labor power. But, according to this philosophy, it is not to the interest of the workers that they merely regain their tools and a part interest in the factory, as that would only complete a circle, and would not produce the spiral effect and qualitative change necessary for the advancement of the workers' interests. The workers will, by adding stress and strain, break out of their environment and take over the entire factory—tools and everything else—from the capitalists. This will be a qualitative change, and it will complete a spiral effect, instead of a circle effect, in the workers' relations to the productive forces. The workers, at this point, emerge at a "higher" level. This new, and "higher," level is the synthesis, or higher thesis.)

Within the capitalistic system workers have no means of improving their position within society except by striking, mainly for higher wages, but also for other things such as better working conditions, safety devices, medical care, pensions, better treatment from their employers, etc. (The pay of workers in all capitalistic society is based on an economic theory, developed mainly by David Ricardo, called the "iron law of wages," which holds that workers should be paid only enough to permit them to produce enough of their kind to do the work necessary to support society. This "law" holds that if the workers are paid too much they will produce too many of their kind, and therefore will become a burden on society, and also if paid too little they will starve, and therefore will not be able to support society. In socialistic society workers are to be paid just enough to enable them to buy all that they produce. That is, they are to receive an amount of money or credits equal to the full value of all they produce, and therefore will receive full value for their labor.) But strikes, even when successful, are unsatisfactory, as the capitalists simply raise the prices of their goods to obtain the money, mainly from the workers, to pay for the changes that the workers win. The cost of living of the workers then increases; therefore their economic position soon becomes the same as it was before they struck. They then have no choice but to strike again. This process continues, in a "vicious spiral," and it is one of the insolvable economic problems (contradictions) within all capitalistic democ-

racies. (Within capitalistic dictatorships the workers have practically no political, economic, or social power, therefore they cannot strike. In such political systems the workers have no choice but to rise in armed revolt against the government if they wish to improve their position.)

Another contradiction within capitalism is the series of constantly recurring "booms" and "depressions," which are in turn caused by competition, the chief thing upon which capitalism is based. Competition necessitates secrecy, and this prevents cooperative planning between factory owners for profitable production over a long period. Because of lack of planning there is a boom, and too much is produced too quickly for profitable distribution. A depression then follows because the workers are discharged, and thereby deprived of their income; they therefore have no money to pay for the things they have produced, even though the market is flooded with these things. For example, shoe factory workers then cannot get shoes because they have made too many shoes. Actually, they cannot buy shoes because too many shoes are for sale! This is the capitalist contradiction that most affects workers, and for this reason is well known to them. It is a good example of how capitalism produces an abundance of useful things that the workers need and at the same time produces a condition (a "depression") which prevents these same workers from using the things. Abundance in all such cases not only does not bring prosperity and happiness to anyone, but actually brings want, suffering, and misery to the workers who produced the abundance. Want and abundance are present at the same time, a condition which is possible only in a capitalistic society, and is impossible in a socialistic society.

Many modern materialists, but mainly those having "naturalistic" tendencies, contend that finally such a severe "capitalistic" depression will occur that capitalism will automatically be destroyed, and its place will be taken by socialism. They hold that because of competition among capitalists, capitalism will eventually destroy itself without any effort on the part of its opponents. To support this theory these materialists contend that the most important contradiction within capitalism—and its chief weakness in its struggle against

socialism—is the fact that capitalists do not cooperate with each other to maintain a solid front against socialism, but instead often act to undermine their own system. (Some modern materialists hold that the capitalists may finally combine to control, and severely limit, production through cartels, the advanced technique of monopoly capitalism, and in this way save capitalism until the demand by workers for economic security becomes so strong that they will rise in revolt to establish socialism, a system which will assure this security. However, recent actions of world capitalists, and especially their competitive actions during the Second World War, clearly indicate that they will not be able to agree among themselves on any plan that will save capitalism—or even appreciably extend its existence.)

The contradiction within capitalism that most aids the peaceful emergence of socialism is the fact that capitalists deliberately sell their businesses to the public, and thereby weaken capitalism and strengthen the movement toward socialism, whenever it is to their personal advantage to do so. They do not hesitate to make concessions to socialistic principles if they can make a financial profit for themselves by doing so, even though these concessions are tacit admissions that public ownership sometimes presents advantages even for capitalists. Such concessions and admissions occur whenever an enterprise, necessary to support capitalism, becomes unprofitable for private operation, and they increase the difficulty of defending private ownership of anything that is used by a large segment of the population of any area. (Most capitalists now concede that all *nonprofitable* but necessary private enterprises, natural resources, facilities, services, etc., should be socialized, and many such things, including the following, have been firmly established on a socialistic basis within capitalistic society with little or no objection from capitalists: roads, streets, sidewalks, bridges, docks, canals, harbors, rivers, bays, lakes, and waterways and airways generally; railroads, steamship lines, ferries and transportation systems generally, postal systems and communication systems generally, power and light systems, irrigation and flood control systems, life-saving systems, fire-fighting systems, water and sewer systems, street-cleaning and garbage-removal systems; schools, colleges, hospitals, asylums, public welfare systems, and public health systems; land, water, air, wind,

tides, and minerals; national monuments, parks, wild life sanctuaries, and game preserves; police and law-enforcement systems generally, and military and naval systems. These capitalists admit that capitalism needs a certain amount of socialization in order to operate; that "free enterprise" capitalism would not be possible if all socialistic principles were removed from it. This obviously is correct, because when socialistic principles are removed from capitalism, fascistic principles must be substituted. This process leads to fascism, a condition within capitalism which does not permit free enterprise.)

Capitalistic competition was disastrous to capitalism during the Second World War, a war which was due entirely to the over-all world struggle between capitalism and socialism. This war began because of efforts by capitalists to stop the spread of socialistic ideas, which began immediately after the Russian Revolution. Capitalists all over the world then became alarmed by the spread of these ideas, and as a result supported Hitler, Mussolini, Franco, and many other reactionary leaders solely because those leaders promised to "save" Europe from "foreign" economic and social ideas "originating within the Soviet Union." (Actually, the particular ideas which these capitalists feared originated mainly in western Europe, especially in England, France, and Germany, and not in the Soviet Union.)

The capitalists gained an early advantage in their struggle against these economic and social ideas by destroying the socialistic "Popular Front" government of France. Shortly after this they obtained a tremendous advantage by destroying the socialistic systems which had been established in Czechoslovakia and Spain, and were in a very strong position for an all-out attack on the Soviet Union, the country best able to defend socialistic ideas. At this time all reactionary and conservative capitalists, throughout the world, were fully convinced that Hitler was their strongest leader, and would save capitalism from socialism. They then gave him their full support, but immediately after this they began to disagree among themselves over matters concerning leadership and strategy. This situation developed because Hitler became aware of the fact that world capitalism had no choice but to support him, if it was to save itself

from socialism, and therefore did not consider it necessary to consult with his creators and backers. He then insisted on taking full control of the "crusade" against socialistic ideas, and accepted only a little "advice," mainly from German capitalists. Many other capitalists, but mainly British, French, and American, became disturbed at this turn of affairs and began to lose their confidence in Hitler, and some cut their ties with him. The Soviet leaders noted this lack of unity among the capitalistic leaders, and in an effort to disrupt the capitalistic forces made a non-aggression pact with Hitler. This greatly alarmed the British and French capitalists, and they committed a fatal blunder in so far as saving European capitalism was concerned. They attacked Hitler, then the strongest defender of European capitalism! Later, after Germany had conquered many countries and acquired many allies, Hitler felt strong enough to defeat not only his former backers, but also the greatest force which supported socialistic ideas, the Soviet Union. (During the rise of Hitler socialistic ideas were being advanced by practically all progressives in Europe, and because of this he never denounced socialism. He, in fact, actually implied that he favored socialism, but this was done in an effort to mislead some of the progressives. Hitler and his followers contended that they were trying to destroy "Jewish-bolshevism," a propaganda term which they invented to curry favor with reactionary and conservative Christians.)

At the point in the world ideological struggle when Hitler attacked the Soviet Union the capitalists had only to stop fighting among themselves to create a situation which would have checked the spread of socialistic ideas—and extended, at least for a generation, the life of European capitalism—but they had become so deeply involved in their own private struggle (competition among themselves) that they could not stop it, even to present a solid front against their most hated rivals, socialism and the Soviet Union. Obviously, at that stage of the struggle the survival of European capitalism depended entirely upon cooperation between capitalists, and the interests of the entire capitalistic world dictated that it direct its full strength and effort against the Soviet Union, then the only remaining country in the world able to support socialism with military force. But competition within capitalism, which at that time

was mainly for post-war markets, prevented cooperation by the capitalists for an all-out attack on the Soviet Union. This competition was such a powerful force that even the most reactionary American capitalists—violent haters of socialism and the Soviet Union—not only did not then aid the European capitalists in their desperate fight for existence against socialism, but actually did aid both socialism and the Soviet Union in war against these same European capitalists! This action, of course, was against the best interests of world capitalism, and it was taken by American capitalists at a time when it was clear that if the Soviet Union were destroyed, socialistic ideas would be "driven underground" for generations. This great opportunity to "stop" socialism was ignored by the American capitalists in spite of the fact that their paramount desire and aim is to destroy the Soviet Union, mainly because they wanted that Union to destroy the European capitalists, and thereby remove these competitors from post-war world trade. In other words, the American capitalists used the Soviet Union to serve the immediate interest of American capitalism—which was the destruction of competing European capitalism—and ignored the long-range deteriorating consequences of their act to world capitalism.

Even when, near the end of the war, it became quite clear that the Soviet Union would be a mighty influence for spreading socialistic ideas after the war, and that disaster faced world capitalism because of this, the capitalistic forces could not agree on any plan to stop the advance toward socialism. (The Second World War overthrew European capitalism, beyond the possibility of recovery, and gave socialistic principles a great impulse all over Europe and Asia. This result is the best example of a major disaster to world capitalism being brought about by a "contradiction" within capitalism. Shortly after the war ended, the capitalists agreed among themselves on a plan to stop the spread of socialistic ideas—but by this time they were too late. Their opportunity had passed. Capitalistic competition had already resulted in the overthrow of the strongest bulwark against these ideas.)

Probably the most obvious contradiction within capitalism is in its military organization. All capitalistic governments always organize their military forces (armies, navies, air forces, etc.) on a socialistic

basis—and they always use these forces on this basis. They always carefully avoid capitalistic principles in their military forces, even when their opponents are socialistic. They do this from sheer necessity, however—not from desire—simply because military organizations must of necessity be organized to operate in the most efficient manner possible, and the capitalistic leaders know that a cooperative (socialistic) system is more efficient than a competitive (capitalistic) system. (Even in the United States, the strongest supporter of capitalism, all military forces and establishments — including the military, naval, and air force colleges—are organized on a strictly socialistic basis. And these forces and establishments always operate on a socialistic basis.)

The greatest contradiction (struggle) within socialism will be between man and his environment (all nature except man), and this struggle may be man's final necessary effort. In this struggle man will contend against all the aspects of nature such as disease, weaknesses due to old age, cold, heat, storms, floods, insecurity, accidents, etc., that affect him adversely, just as he did in the most primitive tribal society. But the struggle will be on a much "higher" (more complex) level than it was in tribal society. This is because man has advanced, and knows much more about things, and therefore will be better able to control them. (Of course, this struggle between man and his environment, which is the most nearly permanent of all the sets of opposites that directly concern man, began ages ago, and man has made great progress toward gaining control of things. But since the emergence of socialistic society this progress has been very much faster than ever before. The struggle is now moving rapidly to higher levels. Man is increasing his control over his environment and is meeting with resistance—which is constantly decreasing in effectiveness—against this control. This action and counter action will continue indefinitely. There is yet no evidence that it will ever finally end, but this is unimportant as it is now obvious that as man advances his control of his environment becomes progressively less difficult. Man will eventually have enough control over things to establish complete freedom, and this is the end which the best minds of the ages have always held to be man's ultimate heritage.)

The great 1929-1939 depression, which occurred in all capitalistic countries, and the Second World War convinced most students of economics—including many devout capitalists—that capitalism can no longer safeguard accumulated wealth; that money in banks, bonds, insurance, land, stocks, or anything else in capitalistic society, is not a good safeguard against want in old age or other disability. Millions of people who put their life savings in the strongest banks and in bonds of what were considered to be the soundest enterprises in the strongest capitalistic country in the world, the United States, lost their money in the great depression, even though every conceivable capitalistic device for safeguarding money was used to protect it. In the Second World War most of the capitalists in Europe lost their wealth, and were forced to accept socialistic economic principles in order to save even some of the remnants of their capitalistic system itself. These two shattering blows in one generation greatly weakened world capitalism, and caused the majority of the authorities on economics to have grave doubts about the ability of capitalism to survive another great crisis, such as a great depression or world war.

When the usual form of capitalistic society (capitalistic democracy) collapses, for any reason, the only alternative to socialistic society is fascism (capitalistic dictatorship), but in most cases fascism is not acceptable to many people, including capitalists. For example, at the end of the Second World War fascism was not acceptable to most European capitalists, because it had just been thoroughly tested by many countries in Europe, including Germany, Italy, Poland, Romania, Bulgaria, Austria, and Hungary, and found to be totally unable to safeguard wealth, or to maintain any kind of individual or national security. (In the immediate post-Second World War period the only countries in Europe, large enough to be of economic importance, which maintained either of the two forms of capitalistic society were: Spain, Portugal, Eire, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium, Switzerland, Greece, and Turkey—and several of these countries were compelled to use severe fascistic methods to maintain their society. All the other larger European countries—the Soviet Union, Great Britain, Germany, France, Poland, Roma-

nia, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Sweden, Norway, Finland, Denmark and Albania—in this period had socialistic governments, and were moving toward socialist democrary. And it is not probable that the people of any country which has given socialistic society a fair test will ever again willingly accept capitalistic society. In all probability, the only way any of these people would return to capitalism would be under compulsion of a fascistic nature which would be at least as harsh as that used in Spain, Portugal, and Greece to maintain capitalism in these countries in the post-Second World War period.)

Because most of the capitalistic peoples of Europe could not save their wealth or their decaying society, even though they set up many fascistic dictatorships in desperate efforts to do so, and finally were forced by sheer necessity to accept socialistic society, it would seem that other capitalistic peoples whose society is decaying would not try to save their society, but instead would adopt socialistic society by peaceful means. But there is little or no evidence that many of the peoples now living in capitalistic society, no matter how decadent it is, will do this. On the contrary, the evidence indicates that socialistic society cannot be established in many more countries without war, revolution, or other drastic political action. This is because the majority of the people in capitalistic society are ignorant and superstitious, and such people dislike and resist almost every kind of change in their established order. In nearly all cases these people will not accept socialistic society until chaos, misery, and death finally force them to do so. (The more backward the people, the more they resist a change in their society. Because of this, progress will advance slowly in many areas, including South America, Africa, India and southern Asia generally, unless socialistic dictatorships are established.)

Because of complications and complexities which technology in a machine-age civilization has forced on man, conditions which in capitalistic society can, and often do without notice, deprive many workers and their dependents of their only means of existence, it is not probable that man in this society can obtain much more control over nature that will be of value to society as a whole. (Man

can control nature only by means of science, but within all capitalistic society science is now impeded by man-imposed ignorance, superstition, supernaturalism, and emotion; therefore its value as a guide to action in advancing civilization is severely limited.) And in any case, within capitalistic society further gains over nature cannot aid the majority of the people, because in this society such gains always tend to decrease the need for workers, and therefore actually make the conditions of the majority (the workers and their dependents) more difficult (insecure). Obviously, if people are to advance much farther they must have economic security (economic freedom) while doing so, but by its very nature the most advanced capitalistic society cannot provide this security (freedom). Therefore, according to this philosophy, if man is to make much more progress he must accept socialistic society, because this is the only kind of society which can now provide the economic security necessary for further advance. After socialistic society has been accepted all over the world, science will become the only guide to progressive action, and man will have freedom for unlimited, unimpeded, and uncontrolled advance in all fields of human welfare. Then civilization everywhere, under the leadership of science, will move forward very rapidly, and within a comparatively short time—possibly within a century—man will have secured enough control over nature to enable him to abolish forever all hard or unpleasant work.

Modern Materialism holds that after *socialistic* society has become *socialist* society, solar heat, atomic energy and the many other ever present forces of nature will be harnessed to provide all the needs of a good life, including food, clothing, shelter, heat, light, etc., for everyone without effort by anyone who does not desire to spend his time providing these needs. It further holds that when these forces are effectively harnessed the necessity for anyone to engage in laborious work will be removed; that from then on the only work done, except that of a light supervisory nature, will be by those who wish to provide things other than the necessities of life, and by those who wish to advance science or to transmit experience. It assumes that many people will work for these reasons, and that nearly all necessary work will be done by them. It also assumes that the creative instinct in man will urge him on to increase his knowledge,

improve his condition, and to attain to ever higher levels, solely for the satisfaction gained from achievement. This philosophy readily concedes that there will always be work to do, such for example as supervising the instruments which control the forces of nature and educating the young, but it holds that no work will finally be done because of personal necessity. Wants above needs will be satisfied by work, but all needs will be free, and no one shall work unless he desires to do so. It is inconceivable that man's wants will ever be satisfied, but it is assumed that his primary, basic, needs, such for examples as food, clothing, shelter, heat, light, medical care, education, opportunity for expression, leisure, etc., will be.

Modern materialists are generally agreed that these conditions will exist everywhere in the world within five hundred years and probably within two hundred years. This is a very short time if man has been on earth a million years, and many scientists concede this. However, until the time does arrive when these conditions prevail the state must provide or guarantee steady employment for all employables. Also all physically and mentally fit people between the ages of eighteen and fifty years should be considered employables until production of necessities begins to exceed demand. When this occurs a gradual reduction of the upper age limit and a gradual shortening of the period of work should begin. (These reductions should be introduced as soon as possible, and long before the socialist system is perfected, in order that the benefits of this system may be distributed to as many workers as possible. A century, or more, may be necessary to perfect the socialist system, after it has become dominant all over the world, but there will be no delay before every worker begins to have an easier life. Long before this system is operating at its best, the basic necessities of life will be free. For one example, bread probably will be just as free as air or water now are within five years after socialism is established everywhere, but long before it is perfected.)

Speed in making life easier is to be stressed in order that the people who establish socialism will get some benefit from it. Emphasis is to be placed on shortening the work week rather than the work day as labor saving devices are invented and improved. (A very short work day is impracticable and economically unsound, espe-

cially for factory workers, because the effort involved in getting to work, getting the work started, and returning home is the same for a short as for a long day.)

As working time is shortened and more people are freed from work they must be educated to use leisure in a way that will aid them, and, as a consequence, aid society generally. It would be a social mistake to free man from work before he knew how to use leisure, at least to his own advantage, because in that case he would suffer both mentally and physically before he could adjust himself to his new personal situation, and thereby be a detriment to society. In many cases, because of inability to adjust himself, he would either die sooner than he would have had he not retired, or "adopt" a neurosis which might develop until it controlled and finally ruined him. These alternatives to a life of pleasant and profitable leisure in middle and old age must be guarded against, and this can be done by means of education. For example, people can be educated to take an interest in social service (any kind of service which benefits humanity), the arts, literature, travel, and the sciences before they retire. Any of these activities can provide pleasant and profitable outlets for mental and physical activity after retirement, but interest in them should not be delayed until late in life.

Modern Materialism contends that the socialist system will eliminate all enforced unemployment, but will not use any force to do this. That is, it contends that this system will prevent involuntary unemployment, but will not force anyone to work. (In the later stages of the *socialistic* system—but before the emergence of true socialism—an employable will be free to quit his job, and if he does so he will not hurt anyone but himself, as the state will protect all dependents such a person may have. However, an employable may jeopardize his own means of existence if he quits work, as no employable is to be paid if he does not work. Under true socialism this situation is not expected to arise, as all work will be on a voluntary basis. In theory, an adult, whether an employable or unemployable, has the "right" to starve, if he so chooses, under the socialist or socialistic system, but this is a purely voluntary privilege. It is never, under any circumstance, involuntary. Under the capitalist system, however, both employables and unemployables not

only have the "right" to starve, but many actually do starve even though they do not choose to, and are perfectly willing to work hard to obtain food. For example, during depressions many people cannot obtain sufficient food, no matter how hard they try, because the capitalist system does not provide enough gainful employment during these periods to enable all people to get enough to eat.)

Modern Materialism contends that in so far as it is possible, and certainly in nearly all cases, workers should select the kind of work they wish to do; that workers are more efficient, as well as more contented, when doing the kind of work they prefer than when doing any other kind. Because of this, regimentation of workers is considered economically unsound, as well as socially disadvantageous, and therefore should never be resorted to, except when the situation is such that a socialistic dictatorship form of government is necessary.

Modern Materialism contends that in all capitalistic society private profits (material gains) are necessary, and are always considered by capitalists to be superior to human needs, ethics, morals, or anything else; that in this kind of society private profits must be made at all costs; that neither extreme hunger, sickness, suffering, the physical and mental deterioration of the race, nor even the death of children by neglect, can be allowed to interfere with these profits. It holds that any attempt to interfere with private profits interferes with the theory of "free enterprise," a cornerstone of capitalism, and therefore is, and must always be, rejected by the capitalists, who control the legal machinery of the capitalistic state, the only means by which the situation can be altered—except, of course, by revolt of the workers. This philosophy also holds that the exact opposite is true in all socialistic society; that in this kind of society human needs are paramount—are vastly superior to all other things.

Modern Materialism holds that socialism will prevent destruction and waste of natural resources, and everything else that is of value to humanity, including, of course, labor power (human energy), more efficiently than any other political-economic-social-religious order; that socialism will do this mainly by planning economic action in advance, on a nation-wide scale, in accordance with scientific laws, and will not leave production and distribution —and thus the economic security of the vast majority of the people

—to the whims of individuals or groups seeking private profits. That is, this philosophy holds that the economy within socialist society will be controlled by science, and not by chance as it is in all capitalistic society.

Conservation of natural resources is an important function of the state in all socialistic society. The state, in the interest of all the people, carries on educational campaigns in this society designed to preserve, protect, and safeguard these resources, and to prevent the destruction or waste of anything of value. (In socialist society, science is expected eventually to render waste practically impossible. Even "nature" will not be allowed to "take its course" in this matter, as it often does in capitalistic society.)

One of the first results of a socialistic system is the reduction of waste, while one of the most obvious results of the capitalistic system is waste. The capitalistic system is fully responsible for the destruction of about one-third (more than one hundred million acres) of all the vital farm land top soil in the United States, and this immense, and needless, waste of a prime natural resource is continuing at the rate of more than five hundred thousand acres per year. Also capitalism is wasting other absolutely necessary natural resources in all countries where it is the dominant ideology, but opponents of this waste usually do not publicly object to this for fear of reprisal. (Capitalism in the United States has deliberately destroyed millions of tons of good, wholesome food, including wheat, corn, potatoes, fresh vegetables of many kinds, oranges, milk and meat, when hungry children badly needed food. It did this solely to raise prices so that greater profits could be made. This waste would have been a crime against humanity in socialistic society, but in all capitalistic society it is legal, ethical, moral, just, and proper.)

During the destruction of food, and other natural resources, in capitalistic society, no consideration whatever is given to the sufferings of the poor, hungry, sick, or even of small babies who are crying for food. The only consideration is private profits for those who own the food concerned. Obviously, if food is given, or sold cheaply, to the poor, profits would be reduced, therefore, the capitalists feel that they have no alternative to the destruction of "surplus" food supplies. This almost unbelievable situation exists in all capitalistic

society, with practically no objection from the government, and there is no reason for believing that it will or can be appreciably changed in this society. On the contrary, the evidence is conclusive that the capitalists will not allow it to be appreciably changed. Actually, this waste is sometimes sponsored by the government—usually in efforts to raise or maintain prices—in capitalistic society, and is always done in a perfectly legal manner. (In all capitalistic society destruction and waste of the natural resources of the country is necessary and inevitable, and the poor who are hurt by it have no power to prevent or even to reduce it.)

Modern Materialism holds that the qualitative change from capitalism (capitalistic society) to socialism (socialistic society) has already begun in nearly every country in the world, and has been completed in many countries. However, in many parts of the world, but especially in Africa, India and southeastern Asia generally, the qualitative change from feudalism to capitalism is still in progress, and unless drastic political action is taken by the progressive forces this change will not be completed for generations. Also there are remnants of slavery, and even tribal society, in some areas. These facts complicate somewhat the theory of qualitative change in society, and may seem to weaken it, but actually they do not. In no two places in the world does progress move at the same rate of speed, and nowhere does this speed remain the same; therefore it is clear that some overlapping of the old and the new systems (ideologies) in some areas must be expected. And indeed this is the case in every country in the world. The old system, which is being uprooted and displaced, always overlaps to some degree the new system after the new system has been established as the dominant one.

Modern materialist philosophers are not in agreement as to how qualitative change that changes society from one kind to another takes place. Some of them contend that it is very abrupt and accompanied with great loss of life and suffering, others contend that it is as abrupt as possible without causing "undue" or "unnecessary" suffering, while still others contend that it may be more or less abrupt or it may spread over a long period of time in such a way that neither abruptness nor suffering will be clearly noticeable. The latter group contends that the exact form qualitative change in society

will take in any country cannot be determined far in advance of the "break"; that conditions within the country immediately before repression becomes unbearable determine the form the change will finally take. In short, some modern materialists consider that qualitative change in society must be more abrupt—be made in a shorter period of time and be much more violent—than others do.

Conditions in Russia in 1917, when the qualitative change first became clear there, favored the theory of very abrupt change, while conditions in Great Britain in 1945, when it first became clear there, favored the theory of slow and mild change. Conditions in other countries lend themselves to various grades of definition of qualitative change, all the way from very abrupt, as in India for example, to an apparent absence of abruptness. Conditions in the United States, and most other countries in the western hemisphere, favor a much less abrupt qualitative change than that which occurred in Russia, but there is no evidence that the change will be mild in any country in which the reactionary and conservative elements are very strong. However, it is not probable that any future qualitative change in society will be more abrupt than it was in Russia. Repression there over a long period of time prior to 1917 was so severe that all the factors which produce abruptness in qualitative change in society were fully developed when the "break" began, and therefore a very abrupt change probably was unavoidable. Also outside influences aided the internal repressive forces for a long time after the change began. There is no doubt whatever that the qualitative change from capitalistic society to socialistic society in Russia would have been very much less abrupt, and would have been completed with much less violence and hardship to the people, had not many capitalistic nations tried to prevent the change. These nations invaded Russia and not only killed many proponents of socialism, but also gave aid, comfort, and hope to the reactionary forces that were trying, by military action, to prevent the emergence of socialistic society. Had these nations refrained from invading Russia there can be no doubt that the change would have been completed with little or no hardship other than that which was produced by the repressive measures of the Czarist government and the First World War. In short, repression in Russia was aided by many factors and

it reached a very high pitch, which in turn caused the qualitative change to reach a high degree of abruptness. On the other hand there has been very little repression in Great Britain for generations. This circumstance permitted the qualitative change there to emerge and develop, to a point where it was noticeable, in a mild manner. Unfortunately the almost repression free condition that existed in Great Britain does not exist in many other countries; therefore it must be expected that most future qualitative changes in society will develop with some degree of violence. (The qualitative change from capitalistic society to socialistic society in most countries in western continental Europe was abrupt mainly because the reactionary capitalistic forces attacked the Soviet Union with military force. Had this attack—which was the major military action of the Second World War—not been made, capitalistic society in all western Europe could, and would, have changed gradually into socialistic society with little loss of life or property, except that due to conflicts within capitalistic society itself.)

Any capitalistic country that accepts the principle of economic security for its people will move toward socialism, because this principle necessitates a state guarantee of the right to gainful employment. When used in capitalistic countries this principle aids the development of socialism, because it forces an extension of public ownership, mainly of public utilities but also of other things connected with production and distribution of the necessities of life. The state is forced to engage in these economic activities, because it cannot in any other way guarantee work for employables. During depressions, which are periodic in all capitalistic society, private enterprise does not provide work for all employables, therefore a government that guarantees gainful employment has no choice but to provide work. That is, it must, by means of public enterprise, provide work which private enterprise will not provide. (This situation, contrary to the opinion of many capitalists, tends to lengthen, rather than to shorten, the life of capitalism, as it weakens the effect of the efforts of those who demand a quick change from capitalistic society to socialistic society. And it also permits the change to proceed with a minimum of disruption, or inconvenience to the people. In other words, capitalistic countries that provide public work, ex-

tend public ownership, and in general extend their public service facilities, when necessary to prevent unemployment, will continue to be capitalistic longer than they otherwise could, and also will reduce the risk of violent revolution. Probably the best test this theory ever received in actual practice was made by the 1933-1945 Roosevelt "New Deal" government of the United States during the great 1929-1939 depression—an economic disaster unparalelled in United States history. Until March 1933, the government of the United States, during this depression, was controlled by reactionary capitalists. By this time—the fifth year of the depression—many millions of Americans had lost their life savings, due to bank failures and to guaranteed, "gilt-edged," bonds becoming worthless, and unemployment had reached an unprecedented high level, with more than seventy-five per cent of the workers without regular employment or any prospect of such employment. It was obvious at this time that conditions were becoming much worse as time passed, and that private enterprise could not end the depression, or even check it in any way. Acute suffering was common throughout the nation, and at least fifty per cent of the industrial workers and their dependents had no means of existence except a little that remained of meager savings, accumulated over a long period of time, which they had intended to use only in their old age. Many of these people were saved from intense suffering, and even slow death by starvation, only bcause they lived sparingly on these savings, which by 1933, however, were almost exhausted. The government then was in grave danger of revolt by the people, through sheer desperation, but even so it actually refused to do anything to relieve the suffering, except to suggest that the rich help the poor by private charity. The rich, as was to be expected, refused to do this except on a very small, and quite inadequate, scale. The government held that it had no authority, or right of any kind, to aid the suffering people; that the difficulties of the people were not the concern of the state, but were the concern only of the people themselves, who as individuals should be left free to solve their problems. The government took this stand mainly because the philosophers and propagandists of capitalism contended that if the state helped those who were suffering the moral stamina of the nation would be weakened. These molders of political, eco-

nomic, and social opinion strongly urged that no state aid be given the needy; that the government "let nature take its course" in the depression. They held that the "fittest" would survive and that only the "unfit" would perish, and therefore a stronger nation would evolve; that as a result of suffering and hardship the "long dormant pioneer spirit of true Americanism" would be revived! The fact that people were then suffering and dying in rapidly increasing numbers from hunger, exposure, and disease, due to no fault of their own, and that there was conclusive evidence that this appalling situation was far beyond private control, did not influence the government to help these stricken people. Revolution obviously was fast approaching, but the government recognized this fact only by taking measures to crush with armed force any uprising of desperate people. By a coincidence, which was very fortunate for United States capitalism, a national election was held during the worst period of this depression, and the people voted a new government to power. This new government took office in March 1933, and not only extended greatly the life of American capitalism, but also saved the United States from an uprising of unemployed workers and the poor generally, by adopting the principle of state guaranteed economic security for everyone. It took the position that it is the duty of government to prevent undue and avoidable suffering of people within its jurisdiction when the people themselves cannot do this. And in efforts to prevent suffering it provided work or subsistence for all in need. This government was not able to end the depression, although it tried every conceivable capitalistic device and method to do so, but it saved American capitalism until the Second World War finally provided private enterprise with the opportunity to make profits. These profits, which were tremendous throughout the entire period of the war, were largely guaranteed by the government, and they were the incentive for private enterprise to operate. Because these profits were guaranteed, private enterprise employed such a large number of workers that the depression ended. It is obvious, however, that the war, and not the government or private enterprise, ended the depression. In fact there is no evidence whatever that this depression would or could have been ended except by revolt of the people against the capitalistic system had not the war

made it necessary for the state to guarantee huge private profits to capitalists. The "New Deal" government was capitalistic, and not socialistic as many capitalists contend. It was controlled by highly intelligent progressive capitalists, and was an excellent example of enlightened capitalistic democracy operating at its best. However, in the beginning the "New Deal" had strong fascistic tendencies, and because of this many materialists hold that the United States may pass through a period of "fascism" before it can adopt socialism.)

In all countries where the influence of Materialism is stronger than the influence of Idealism, socialistic society has been established, and where this situation in philosophy exists society is moving more rapidly toward socialism in the areas where Modern Materialism is more influential than Mechanical Materialism. In countries outside the "orbit" of the Soviet Union, such as England and France, for examples, which have established socialistic society, the rate of change from this society to socialist society is slower than it is in countries within that "orbit." This permits the change to be made with less disruption of the "normal" life of the people, and there is no evidence whatever that this slower change is detrimental to the advancement of civilization.

Conditions—mainly the educational and general cultural levels —within a country determine whether the change from socialistic society to socialist society should be fast or slow, and in the cases of England and France conditions are such that rapid change is not necessary. On the other hand, all of the countries within the "orbit" of the Soviet Union have conditions which make fast change desirable, even though this disrupts somewhat the "normal" life of some of the people. Most of the people within this "orbit" were steeped in ignorance and superstition for many generations, therefore drastic action is necessary to raise the cultural level as required by the immediate needs of the modern world. But in at least nearly all of the countries outside that "orbit" that have established socialistic society, education has raised the cultural level to such an extent that drastic action is not necessary or desirable. (During the early period of the Soviet Union drastic action was absolutely necessary not only because of the ignorance and superstition of the great

mass of the people, but also because that Union was attacked by the military forces of all the great capitalistic countries. Survival of the socialistic system which had been established, as well as the Soviet Union itself, required drastic action in this case. Because of this experience, and also because of the Nazi-Fascist attack in 1941, the Soviet leaders consider it absolutely necessary to be prepared to repel another great attack by the forces of capitalism. Actually, all military preparedness in the Soviet Union is based on the assumption that the capitalistic world will—before it finally "collapses" due to its own "contradictions"—make a supreme, all-out, military attack on that Union. The Soviet leaders assume that this attack will be made before the capitalists concede that socialistic society cannot be destroyed by the forces of capitalism; that this attack certainly will be made if the more reactionary capitalists, as were the Nazi-Fascist leaders in 1941, secure control of the capitalistic world. The Soviet leaders hold that during the period immediately preceding the Nazi-Fascist attack they made every possible concession, consistent with national security, to the Nazi-Fascists—first the creatures and tools, but later the leaders of the most powerful European capitalists—in efforts to avoid an attack by European capitalism. But these concessions did not save the Soviet Union from this attack, and because they did not the Soviet leaders are very skeptical of promises, proposals, and even agreements of capitalists.)

CHAPTER XIX

Sociology

Modern Materialism contends that economic and social security (freedom from want and fear) is the chief need and desire of man. It holds that with the sole exception of world peace, this kind of security is the most important goal for which man should strive. These goals are closely related, if not inseparable, as world peace cannot be assured until the peoples of the world obtain economic and social security.

Modern Materialism contends that peace and security for all peoples can be obtained only by cooperation. Because of this theory —which no other philosophy advances—Modern Materialism may properly be considered the philosophy of cooperation. (All other philosophical systems, including even Mechanical Materialism, contend that competition, rather than cooperation, is the best way to advance toward socially advantageous goals.)

Modern Materialism contends that in social relations cooperation is the highest human effort, and that it always aids both the individual and the group; therefore it is superior to competition, as competition often forces individuals to act against the best interests of the group. (Cooperation, by definition, never can force anyone to act against the best interest of society.) This philosophy holds that eventually everyone will fully understand that cooperation is more advantageous for the individual, as well as for the group, than competition; that the collective social consciousness of all people will finally become so highly developed that cooperation will displace competition in all matters which involve the common welfare; that the security of the individual and the group will be obtained and maintained by cooperation; that everyone will cooperate to the extent that no one will do anything that is socially disadvan-

tageous. In short, this philosophy holds that if the individual acts in the best interest of the group, his own best interest will be served, and that all people will finally understand this—and act accordingly. When all people do so act progress toward the goal of the best possible life will be accelerated.

Modern Materialism holds that cooperation is a more natural condition of organic life than competition, and therefore should be accepted by human beings as the basic principle of relationships within society. It also holds that civilization has now reached the stage at which competition in efforts to gain economic or social advantages usually results in the development of socially disadvantageous conditions, and therefore should not be used in such efforts when its alternative—cooperation—is possible. And it further holds that in all cases involving the security of the individual or the group, cooperation is possible.

Modern Materialism concedes that under many conditions or circumstances, such for example as competition between groups in public works projects or games, which benefit or bring credit to the nation as a whole, competition aids progress. But it holds that competition in efforts to obtain or increase the security of individuals—an all-important activity in all capitalistic society—is harmful because it widens the gap between the social classes, and in this way weakens the nation. It holds that the poor (those with little or no economic or social security) are at a great disadvantage in competition with the rich because the rich not only already have security, and therefore risk almost nothing in the contest, but also because the laws of capitalistic society favor the rich. Because of this situation the rich can, and almost always do, win in competition with the poor. In this way the security of the rich is increased at a much greater rate than that of the poor. (In most cases the economic and social security of the poor is actually decreased in this competition.) This is a constantly occurring feature in all capitalistic society, which increases the advantage of the rich over the poor, and makes it possible for a few families to control this society. These families always maintain this control and they operate this society to suit their own personal interests rather than the interests of all the people, according to this philosophy.

Modern Materialism contends that the social outlook of all people is determined by their environment, which is determined and conditioned by their economic system. It holds that the environment of every individual should be such that he can take full advantage of his talents—develop his latent powers to their fullest extent. It insists that the individual should be given unlimited opportunity to advance in any direction that will aid progress, and rejects as socially disadvantageous the idea, generally held in capitalistic society, that all that need be done for anyone is to make it possible for him to take advantage of what opportunities he may be able to find in a competitive environment. (This philosophy contends that in the present period progress can best be aided by advances in the fields of economic and social security, but it also contends that talent in the cultural fields should be given every possible encouragement consistent with the primary consideration of security.)

The principle of equality of opportunity is accepted by all modern materialists as an ultimate goal for which society should strive, even though it is self-evident that this goal cannot be reached within the predictable future. These materialists contend that society should make every effort to approach this goal as closely as possible, but readily concede that it will not be reached until every child is born into an environment that will give him an equal chance in life with every other child in so far as his physical structure is concerned. They hold that all obstructions which prevent equality of opportunity must be removed as fast as science provides the ways and means to this end; that each child must be given the best of health and environment that science can provide in order that he may be able to take advantage of opportunities. (It is assumed that each physically normal child is born with the same mental capacity, and that environment determines his mental development. It necessarily follows that in any society children of well educated and highly intelligent parents have an advantage over children of less well educated and less intelligent parents. This advantage is due mainly to the early environment of the children and because of it an exactly equal chance for every child probably can never be provided. However, as the educational level of the less educated parents is raised

the difference between the chances of the children of the well educated and the poorly educated people will become smaller, and theoretically will finally disappear. Even if the difference cannot be eliminated it certainly will become smaller when a determined effort is made to reduce it, and Modern Materialism makes such an effort wherever it becomes the dominant philosophy.)

The majority of the children in capitalistic society are born and raised in unfavorable environments mainly because the capitalistic state does not interest itself sufficiently in the welfare of the children of the poor. In this kind of society only the rich and the well-to-do have enough economic and social security to enable them to provide a wholesome environment for their children. The poor—the great majority—cannot possibly provide a wholesome environment for their children. Because of this situation the children of the rich and well-to-do have a tremendous advantage over the children of the poor—a condition which is socially disadvantageous, as it creates antagonisms within the nation.

The poor in capitalistic society own very little property, and much of what they have possession of is not paid for or worth what it cost. They are usually in debt, and often their debts are greater than their assets. Because of this situation they have little or no economic or social security except their labor power, which in times of depressions, and sometimes even in "normal" times, becomes almost worthless. Many of these people are forced to accept favors from the upper classes in order to obtain the necessities of life such as the minimum of food, clothing, shelter, and medical care for themselves and their children. In this way they not only become obligated to the rich and the well-to-do but also develop a feeling that they have to depend on the upper classes in emergencies, and therefore must curry favor of these classes at all times. This destroys the morale of the poor, causes them to lose their self-respect, and eventually forces them to accept the role of a submissive subservient class. This weakens their will to rebel or even to protest against injustice, and is one of the strongest factors that prevents changes for the better in capitalistic society.

The poor in capitalistic society want, above all else, economic and social security, and they work very hard to obtain this security,

but very few of them ever obtain it. As a consequence the great majority of parents in this kind of society suffer frustrations which at times become almost unbearable. At these times they usually seek an "escape" by means of religion or alcohol—and sometimes by both. Eventually many of these people become despondent, and cease trying to improve their condition or to do anything that would improve the environment of their children. As a result these children develop and grow up in environments that stunt and warp their bodies and minds. In this way an ignorant, superstitious, physically and mentally deficient "poor" class is developed and perpetuated in all capitalistic countries.

It is self-evident that the condition of the people in the "poor" class in capitalistic society should be improved, and their outlook made brighter, but this kind of society, by its very nature, needs a poor class, and therefore cannot be expected to help people get out of this class. (The philosophers of capitalism contend that the poor are the "unfit" of society, while the rich and the well-to-do are the "fit." This contention is from the "survival of the fittest" theory, one of the cornerstones of capitalism. This theory holds that the rich are the "fittest"—the most valuable people of the nation—because they have prospered financially while the poor have not, and therefore are a special national asset entitled to special consideration by society. This is a variation of the Calvinist theory that considers the rich the "elect" of God, but it is not valid, because it ignores the great mass of the people who in fact build a country in peace and defend it in war. The rich compose only a very small segment of the population of any country, and their contribution to society is not important enough to entitle them to preferential consideration. The philosophers of capitalism hold that the "unfit" are only a little above the level of national liabilities, and therefore are not entitled to anything as valuable as economic or social security. These philosophers, however, concede that the state should allow the poor "freedom of enterprise" or "initiative" to prove, if they can, that they are able to move into the "fit" class. But this kind of freedom is only the right for the poor to search, in unlimited competition—with the rich, the well-to-do, and all others—for an opportunity which will give them material wealth if they find and successfully exploit the

opportunity. When a member of the "poor" class succeeds in finding and exploiting successfully such an opportunity he is considered "fit." However, only a very few ever succeed in this endeavor because the poor do not have the economic and social security necessary to enable them to compete on anything approaching equal terms against the rich and the well-to-do—those who have such security.)

Modern Materialism contends that all the people in the "poor" class in capitalistic society would benefit by socialism. These people, however, do not consciously aid the emergence of this ideology. Actually they oppose socialism and insist that they favor capitalism whenever they feel it necessary to state their position on these ideologies. They act in this manner because they have been led to believe that their condition of life cannot be improved by a change in ideologies and also because they dislike the idea of a drastic change in society which they feel would not aid them. Due to ignorance—mainly lack of knowledge of the causes of their insecurity—these people usually suffer in silence and submit to what they consider to be their fate ("God's will"). Some of them, however, finally conclude that the established order is unfair to them; that it is not to their interest to help maintain this order; that laws aid the rich and harm the poor; that their plight justifies disregard for laws; that their condition of life will become worse, and eventually will be hopeless. They then develop cynical, anti-social, attitudes, and a general over-all disrespect for the laws, customs, and traditions of their country. A few of these people sometimes consider their position within society intolerable and feel that they should try to escape from it by violent action—that violence is a prerequisite of survival—but due to lack of organization they usually express their dissatisfaction only in independent spasmodic attacks on individuals and groups whom they feel are their enemies. This kind of action not only does not help them, but on the contrary actually makes their condition worse—increases their insecurity. (Without doubt dissatisfaction within the "poor" class in capitalistic society weakens the ethical and moral fiber of this society, and helps to pave the way for socialism. But the proponents of socialism do not expect conscious, organized, intelligent aid from this class until conditions within capitalistic society become intolerable for the great majority of the

poor. The intelligent capitalists obviously will endeavor to prevent such a condition from arising.)

Modern Materialism holds that socialistic society not only would aid all the poor, but would also eliminate the conditions which produce a poor class—and the need for such a class. This philosophy concedes that not much can be done for the older of the poor in capitalistic society—because their minds and bodies are badly stunted and warped—but it insists that socialistic society, by providing a wholesome environment for everyone, can save the children of these people from the fate of their parents. (In all matters pertaining to welfare, socialistic society holds that children, rather than adults, are the primary interest and therefore are entitled to the first consideration.)

In all capitalistic society a great many children are deprived of a fair chance in life solely because of neglect or some other shortcoming of their parents, and the supporters of capitalism consider that this condition is "normal," and therefore should not be "interfered with" by the state. They hold that the laws of chance govern such matters and that they are of no concern of the state. The proponents of socialism, however, contend that this attitude is socially disadvantageous and unjust. They contend that all children should have a fair chance in life; that no child should be allowed to suffer because of any neglect or other shortcoming of parents; that it is the duty of the state to protect all children against influences which have an unwholesome effect on minds and bodies; that children have a self-evident right to develop and grow up in wholesome environments, and that the state must provide such environments in all cases where the parents do not. (Modern materialists agree that in many cases poor, frustrated, and defeated adults in capitalistic society cannot be rehabilitated to the extent that they will be of value to any society, but they insist that all physically normal children of such people can be saved if action is taken soon enough. These materialists contend that any government is delinquent, and unfit to govern, which neglects to protect the children of the country from the unwholesome influences of ignorant, superstitious, and frustrated parents. Many ignorant poor parents in capitalistic society have been so thoroughly conditioned by capitalist propaganda to con-

sider all state aid degrading to the receiver that they refuse it even when it is freely offered by public welfare agencies. As a result of this situation, which is especially prevalent in the United States, many children are denied absolutely necessary medical, and other, care. These children then become physically or mentally incapacitated, through no fault whatever of their own, and as a consequence the nation is weakened. This is one of the more obvious weaknesses of the capitalist system which render it vulnerable to attacks by the advocates of socialism.)

There are developing within capitalistic society many different flaws, as distinguished from contradictions, which undermine and weaken it. The most serious of these flaws is the fact that the men that this society now produces are not willing to defend it, and in most cases actually will not do so except under compulsion. This fact became well known during the First World War, and is good evidence that capitalistic society is decaying. This society does not now enjoy the confidence of the men it produces, and no society can long survive without this confidence.

It is self-evident that any political-economic-social system should be good enough to induce the men who live in it to fight for it. A nation is in an unhealthy condition mentally and morally when its men are unwilling to defend its political-economic-social system, as was the case in all capitalistic countries in both world wars. In these wars, capitalists who had made enormous profits by preparing the enemies of their countries for war, and expected to make even greater profits when the war they had thus made possible came, discovered that the men in capitalistic society were not willing to fight for it. These capitalists then forced their countries to adopt the capitalist conscription theory, which holds that the men of capitalistic society must defend this society whether they like it or not; that when men do not like capitalistic society well enough to defend it voluntarily they must be forced to defend it. As a result of the adoption of this theory many millions of men were conscripted, and forced to fight, against their convictions and wishes. (A great many thousands of men refused to fight under such circumstances, and were then harshly treated in efforts to intimidate others.)

The capitalist conscription theory was originally very unpopular

with the working classes in the capitalistic world, but the proponents of conscription began an exceedingly clever propaganda campaign of praise for it which eventually changed the thinking of most people who were not directly affected by it. In fact, this campaign was so effective that this theory actually was accepted—by those not subject to its application—as a valid "democratic principle" in all capitalistic democracies, and men who had been badly treated by capitalistic society and had no reason to like this society were ordered to defend it with their lives. (Many of these men were considered, by the proponents of conscription, to be too young to understand what was best for them, and were not allowed to vote, or in any other way to shape their political-economic-social-religious system, but they were considered old enough to die because of selfish and irresponsible actions of those who did shape this system.)

The application of the capitalist conscription theory is a tacit admission by the capitalistic world that there is a serious flaw within capitalistic society, or a weakness in the moral fiber of the men it produces. (If it is conceded that environment determines the mental and moral qualities of men, then it follows that if the moral fiber of the men of capitalistic society is weak this society is to blame for this condition.)

Conscription of men for any reason in the present period of history can be justified only when the government under which the men conscripted are living is a socialistic dictatorship. That is, when the condition of society in a country is such that a socialistic dictatorship is necessary and is established, then conscription can be justified, but not under any other condition or circumstance. Should a situation arise within a democracy in which conscription becomes necessary, a not uncommon occurrence, then the form of government should be changed to a socialistic dictatorship. This is necessary because the alternative is a fascist dictatorship (dictatorship of capitalists) which is inferior as far as the welfare of the great majority of the people is concerned. A fascist dictatorship is designed mainly to protect the rich, the very small part of the population within capitalistic society which least needs protection, and it cannot protect the poor, the great mass of the people who always need protection in this kind of society to a far greater degree than the rich do.

(It is obvious that the rich have many more ways to protect themselves than the poor have under almost any condition or circumstance.)

Clearly the thing to do is to construct and develop a society that men will consider worth defending—on the battlefield as well as everywhere else—rather than one that men will not fight for except by coercion. Certainly it is not just to force men to fight—to risk their lives in battle—for anything that they feel is not worth defending. (Those who favor conscription within a democracy "put the cart before the horse," and follow the same line of reasoning as those who contend that it is more important to punish criminals than it is to build a society that will not produce criminals.)

Conscription is undemocratic from any standpoint, but mainly because it denies to the individual all freedom of action. In this way it violates one of the basic principles upon which progressive capitalistic democracy was founded and prospered. It follows that when capitalistic democracy uses conscription that form of society is deteriorating, and moving in a reactionary direction—toward fascism. (Within capitalistic society the proponents of conscription always stoutly defend it as being "democratic," and never admit that it is anti-democratic, but this, obviously, is false, fascistic, propaganda. It is one of the many false but subtle and effective means by which reactionaries lead the public away from democracy, and toward fascism. And the effectiveness of this propaganda strongly supports the theory, held by many progressives, that if fascism overcomes democracy it will do so under the pretext of extending or aiding democratic principles, that is, under the guise of democracy.)

Conscription within capitalistic society is a great social evil because it has a demoralizing effect on the men of this society, and aids the elements within it that hope to establish fascism. It undermines and weakens all democratic principles, and aids all reactionary principles. Conscript veterans return to civilian life in a resentful, disgruntled condition. Their attitude toward their society is expressed in such anti-social conduct as brawling in public, destroying property, and insulting women on public streets. (This attitude was especially prevalent in the United States after the First World War, mainly because this country had always before used the

volunteer system, and had considered conscription "un-American," but in recent years it has been less evident because the men are becoming conditioned by subtle capitalist propaganda to accept conscription, and therefore do not so strongly resent it.)

Because of their resentment against society for what they considered unfair treatment, many of these veterans were easy prey of the most reactionary elements of capitalistic society. These elements, which always try to set up fascistic dictatorships, made victims and dupes of many veterans, and often incited them to violence against progressive groups and movements. This was easily done, mainly because these veterans while in service had developed a desire for revenge against their society for conscripting them, and this became a strong emotional factor in their lives. One of the ways by which they sought to get revenge was to hurt whomever they could in their society with the least danger to themselves, and they attacked inoffensive people who were in no way responsible for conscription or for the war which brought about conscription. In fact, these veterans, who for good reason hated conscription, did not attack it, but on the contrary actually attacked its strongest opponents—mainly "pacifists" and "socialists." Eventually these veterans even became the strongest apologists for and proponents of conscription! (This action by the veterans was due to the fact that they became enmeshed in very reactionary capitalistic propaganda, and is one of the best examples of the effectiveness of this propaganda. However, the chief reason why these veterans demanded conscription, of others of course, was that they felt that they had been abused by society, and therefore they wanted other members of the same society to receive the same kind of treatment.)

If men are convinced that they have an interest in anything, including a country or an ideology, that is worth fighting for they will voluntarily fight for it. Conscription has never been used in such a situation, except in countries ruled by dictatorships. But if men are not convinced that their interest in a thing is worth fighting for they will not voluntarily fight for it. That is, men will risk their lives voluntarily if they consider this action worth the risk, but not under any other condition.

There are many good examples, throughout history, of men vol-

unteering to risk their lives to defend a country and its ideology. All great nations, ancient and modern, rose and prospered because the men of these nations were willing to fight for their countries and their political-economic-social-religious systems. This was especially true in the early periods of ancient Greece and Rome. Patriotism in those countries then was so strong that it was considered a high honor to be a member of the fighting forces, and usually only favored men were allowed to enter these forces. These men not only volunteered, but many of them provided their fighting equipment. Armies of such men constantly defeated much larger armies of decadent nations that used conscripts.

Throughout the Middle Ages in Europe, patriotism was held in such high esteem that nearly all of the fighting was done by the ruling and owning classes, even though these classes formed only a very small part of the population. (This situation preserved for centuries the physical and mental fitness of the ruling and owning classes. Eventually, however, rulers began to use conscripts, and then the privileged classes began to lose their stamina.)

For generations—from 1776 to 1917—the men of the United States gladly fought voluntarily, and died for their country and its ideology and they considered it an honor and a privilege to do so. But during both world wars only a minority of them fought voluntarily, although all of them had been taught from the cradle, by a tremendous propaganda campaign, unprecedented in history, to believe that their country's political-economic-social-religious system was much better than that of any other country in the world. This unwillingness to fight for their country and its ideology in spite of this propaganda was particularly evident in the Second World War, even though there were much better reasons why men should volunteer in this war than there were in the First World War or the Spanish War, for good examples. The interests of the average American of military age would not have been seriously hurt had the United States not fought Germany in 1917-18 or Spain in 1898, but the situation was entirely different in the Second World War. It is true that this war began as a contest for leadership of the world reactionary forces, and America was not threatened, but it soon devoloped into a world-wide struggle between reaction and progress.

From then on the interests of every man in the United States were in grave danger, for beyond any doubt had the forces of reaction won the American concept of freedom would have been destroyed. Actually, the leaders of the forces of reaction publicly announced that they intended to destroy forever all democracies and democratic principles everywhere in the world. In addition to this imperative reason for action, a tremendous attack, which killed thousands of men, was made against United States military forces before war was declared on the United States. This attack was so devastating and obvious that it could not have been misunderstood by even the most ignorant of men. That is, it was made entirely clear—beyond the possibility of any doubt—to all, that millions of United States men would have to fight or their political-economic-social-religious system would be destroyed. But even with this catastrophe as an alternative to fighting, only a small minority of them volunteered for military service, and many millions of them tried to avoid this service. The inescapable conclusion is that the great majority of the young men of the United States did not then consider their interest in their society worth fighting for; that rather than try to defend their society they would have allowed it to be destroyed by a foreign foe, and have risked taking their chances with whatever kind of society was established afterwards. This indifference to their fate, as well as to the fate of their society, by the best men of the nation—the most physically, mentally, and morally fit men the greatest capitalistic nation had produced— is of great importance in the ideological struggle, because it reveals what may be the chief weakness in modern capitalism. This ideology has now produced, in the most advanced capitalistic country, two generations in succession that would not voluntarily fight for it. This is considered by modern materialists sufficient evidence that capitalistic society no longer justifies its existence, and therefore will soon give way to socialistic society, the next "higher" stage of human society.

Some of the men of the United States who refused to fight for their country in the Second World War undoubtedly were believers in the "salvation by catastrophe" theory of the advancement of civilization. This theory holds that all reactionary movements, including even those that lead to the defeat of progressive forces in war,

should be aided, and that all progressive movements should be disrupted, so that conditions will get so bad that they cannot get worse, and therefore the only change possible will be for the better. It holds that this change will eventually occur, and will be so drastic that conditions will become better than they have ever been. This theory, however, is popular only with some exceedingly zealous "leftists," who are in the "lunatic fringe" of society. ("Salvation by catastrophe" is based on the pessimistic, but probably valid, theory, held by many modern materialists with cynical tendencies, that the masses will not make a satisfactory effort to improve their condition as long as that condition can be endured; that in no case will the masses spontaneously rise in revolt against even very oppressive conditions, unless they become intolerable. It holds that liberal, progressive, and reformist movements generally are of no value to progress or to the masses, but on the contrary actually delay progress and the eventual emancipation of the masses; therefore they should never be supported. It contends that only when "catastrophe" engulfs them will the masses be aroused to spontaneous action that will free them from the "exploiters"; that the masses will not attempt to free themselves unless forced by "catastrophe" to do so. The situation that existed in Germany during and immediately after the Second World War indicates clearly how the "salvation by catastrophe" theory operates in practice. Hitler was supported in his rise to reactionary capitalist power by the "lunatic fringe" of the German socialists. These people believed that Hitler would bring about a catastrophe which would destroy capitalism in Germany and force that country to accept socialism, and since the economic system of Germany is now more socialistic than it was before he seized power the "leftist zealots" offer present day Germany as "proof" of the "correctness" of this theory. The opponents of this theory, however, contend that the deaths, suffering, and general destruction which Germany had to endure while its present socialistic system was emerging, by means of the "salvation by catastrophe" method, were too high a price to pay for the change from the old system to the new one; that a slower—less abrupt—change would have been better from any standpoint; that actually the horror and misery in Germany during

the rise of Hitler, and immediately after his fall, are good evidences that this theory is impracticable.)

It is self-evident that health is the most valuable of all the possessions of a nation, and therefore should be the chief social concern of the state. It follows that the value of any social order is determined by the standard of health of the people it produces; that a good social system produces a constantly rising standard of physical and mental health; that no social system is good that does not increase the health rate. A country whose young show a tendency toward physical, mental, or moral degeneracy has a faulty social system even though that system produces great material wealth. In short, an abundance of automobiles, telephones, radios, etc., does not compensate for stunted and warped bodies and minds.

It is self-evident that the best social system for any country, nation, or group is the one that produces the highest standard of physical, mental, and moral health; that a social system that permits deterioration of a people is not a good one no matter how much material wealth it produces for its people. Socialistic society accepts this principle, but it is the only society that does. All other kinds of society have a strong tendency to place national material wealth above national health, and this circumstance has aided in the deterioration of many nations. (During the First World War it was discovered that in the greatest and most prosperous capitalistic country, the United States, the mental development of the average conscript was below that expected of the average thirteen year old child, and in the Second World War one out of every three of the young men examined for military service was found physically, mentally, or morally unfit to fight in defense of his country even though the standards were the lowest ever set in United States history. But without any doubt the people of the United States, during long periods immediately preceding these wars, enjoyed more material wealth —including necessities, conveniences, and luxuries—than did the people of any other country in the world. This condition of health in the United States was the inevitable result of capitalist philosophy and propaganda. The capitalist philosophers and propagandists have always held or strongly implied that the best social system is

the one that produces the most material wealth for its people; that the value of any social order is determined by the material wealth it produces, and not by the standard of health of the people it produces. These molders of national thought actually oppose all action designed to raise the standard of national health whenever there is any reason for believing that such action may interfere with the accumulation of material wealth. For example, they constantly oppose and denounce state medical aid, and insist that a person's health is a private matter—a concern of the individual only—which should not be "interfered" with by either society or the state, mainly because such aid would reduce the financial income of the medical profession.)

It is self-evident that the higher the health rate of a nation the better the national interest is served, therefore it is the duty of the state to keep the nation in good health. A nation should maintain a constantly rising health rate, and must at all costs avoid a falling health rate. That is, the state must prevent physical and mental degeneration of the nation. But it is obvious that a falling health rate must be expected in any nation that depends on private practice of medicine, because profitable private practice of medicine depends on a large number of sick people and no profit can be made when a nation is healthy. It is also clear, if not obvious, that when national health is served by private practice it is to the interest of everyone who profits by attending the sick that the nation remain unhealthy; that a large "backlog" of patients, and prospective patients, exist; that the rich have the first choice of medical services and care; that the poor be neglected. Otherwise profits would be low, if any at all. In short, private practice of medicine—that is, cures for profit only—must of necessity contribute to the physical and mental degeneration of a nation.

Modern Materialism holds that civilization has reached the stage at which all medical practice should be socialized; that socialization of medicine not only will assure a constantly rising health rate, but also will result in a more equal distribution of medical care. It holds that private practice of medicine should be abolished mainly because it cannot raise the health rate, but also because it does not, and cannot, provide the poor with as good treatment as the rich, a situation which is incompatible with the modern conception of democracy.

One of the most shameful results of the private practice of medicine is that it robs millions of sick people of their dignity and self-respect, solely because they need medical care. These people, who if well would strengthen the nation, are forced to remain sick—or accept the role of beggars. They have no choice but to beg from private sources if they are to regain their health.

In rich capitalistic countries where the cost of maintaining a high standard of public health would be very small if it were spread over the entire population in the form of taxation, the poor are forced to depend on private begging "drives" for medical care to regain their health, relieve their suffering, and even to save their lives. They are at the mercy of private organizations and individuals who profit by the misfortunes of the poor, and the government is prevented from taking action that would relieve the situation, solely because such action would interfere with the practice of medicine for profit, a very important part of the private enterprise system. For example, in the United States, the richest capitalistic country in the world, private begging campaigns to raise money to pay for medical care for the poor are constantly recurring social phenomena. In this country the forces that profit by the private practice of medicine are so strong that they prevent all but very meager government aid to the sick who are poor. The most influential leaders of these forces, mainly doctors and the manufacturers of medicine, hold that the government should not interfere with the private practice of medicine or in any other way take an interest in keeping the nation healthy. They hold, or clearly imply, that if the nation were healthy, doctors, dentists, nurses, etc., would be deprived of their means of existence, and that medicine makers and sellers would be put out of business. Because of this situation it is clear that capitalism cannot assure a constantly rising health rate. (In their struggle against socialism the most pressing need of most capitalistic countries, including especially the United States, is a health program that will raise the physical and mental level of the young.)

Capitalistic society has a strong tendency to prevent the general public from learning scientific facts that can be used to improve national health when these facts conflict with the profit motive of capitalism. This kind of society keeps nearly all of its scientists in

check, mainly by means of economic pressure within the "social superstructure," which conditions their environment to such an extent that they are unable to advise the public of their findings when these findings interfere with profits. (For an example of this situation in the United States, scientists knew that for many years a poisonous drug called "agene" was used in flour and bread because it produced an especially attractive looking whiteness in flour and bread although it had a harmful effect on health. Because of its attractive color, bread which contained agene was sold more easily than bread that did not contain this poison, and therefore profits were more easily made—at the expense of national health. The scientists tried to inform the public about the situation, but capitalist-imposed censorship prevented this because people would not have bought as much of this bread if they had known that it contained poison, and profits would have been reduced. Eventually, after a long hard campaign, which the usual sources of information—press, radio, pulpit, etc.—refused to report, the scientists induced the government to prevent the use of agene in bread, but even so other similar drugs were used as substitutes. No doubt many of the physical and mental defects found in the men of the United States during the Second World War and the Korean War were due to agene used in bread.)

Alcohol, tobacco, and many other things that have a harmful physical or mental effect on human beings are commonly used indiscriminately by an unsuspecting general public in all capitalistic countries, because the scientists are prevented from explaining the harmful nature of these things to the public. As a result of this situation, peculiar to capitalistic society, the advancement of public knowledge that aids health is hampered and delayed, and the physical and mental health of the people in this society is deteriorating. This has been especially noticeable in the United States, by far the leading capitalistic country in medical science, since the First World War. In this country insanity is the major social problem, and is increasing much faster than the population. This, of course, means that if the insanity rate is not reduced—and the best authorities on nervous and mental diseases see no prospect of reducing it—the insane population of the United States will eventually become so large that it will constitute an unbearable economic burden. (Com-

petent and responsible medical authority recently held, and publicly announced, that about thirty million people in the United States needed treatment for nervous or mental diseases. This report was generally suppressed, solely because it was unfavorable to capitalism, the ideology that produced this condition.)

It is self-evident that things that contain habit forming drugs should not be used indiscriminately because they have a harmful effect on health. And obviously people should be freed from all harmful drug habits. But because these habits are so deeply rooted, and so profitable for those who encourage them, they cannot be eliminated in capitalistic society. (A great many people in capitalistic society make their living by producing, distributing, and advertising the things that cause drug habits, and by encouraging people to adopt these habits.) However, the indiscriminate use of habit forming drugs should be reduced as much and as rapidly as possible without causing undue suffering, and this is being done in all socialistic society, mainly by education. Socialistic society endeavors, as a matter of public duty and interest, to remove any necessity that may exist for anyone to make his living by engaging in occupations that injure either individual or national health. (Because of drug habits already formed, at least a generation will be necessary to make an appreciable advance against these habits, but after one generation has been fully advised as to their bad effects on health, and after all employables have been provided with gainful employment that does not injure health, the elimination of these habits will be comparatively easy.)

Modern Materialism contends that when society is based on socialism more time can and will be devoted to eliminating disease. It assumes that eventually all disease, both physical and mental, will be stamped out; that finally the primary concern of doctors will be the prolongation of life. (Accidents that will require the services of doctors must always be expected, but at a constantly declining rate.)

Modern Materialism holds that racial and class tensions, the chief causes of hatreds, antagonisms, animosities, envies, suspicions, jealousies, etc., between peoples within a country are caused by economic competition; that these tensions can never be eliminated in

capitalist or capitalistic society because it is to the interest of all exploiters of men, women, and children to keep workers ranged against each other, and nothing can do this more effectively than racial and class tensions. It further holds that all such tensions can be quickly eliminated in socialistic society because there is absolutely no need in this kind of society to create, develop, or maintain such tensions.

Modern Materialism holds that the good (progressive) in anything is determined by its aid to human welfare and happiness; that justice is the greatest good for the greatest number of people coupled with just and humane consideration for all; that the "historically progressive" is the only standard by which justice can be measured; that justice must be treated historically for proper evaluation. A condition which is just for one period of history may be unjust for another period. Values change, and society makes laws to suit new conditions as they arise; therefore values of the period of history under consideration must be understood if an historical condition is to be correctly evaluated. For example, because of the way civilization developed, slaves were necessary for progress until the beginning of the Christian era; therefore slavery, the worst example of injustice in modern times, cannot be properly considered an injustice during the early period of human history. Then slavery was necessary; therefore it was a progressive institution. Slavery in modern times, however, has never been necessary for progress, therefore it has never been just or progressive in these times even though it often has been legal and sanctioned by the ethics of many countries and peoples.

Socialistic society tends to distribute the good things of life more equitably than any other society, that has ever been tested on a national basis. Its chief immediate effects on the people of any country that adopts it are to raise the living and cultural standards of the poor, increase the spread of general education, diminish the influence of superstition, and narrow the gap between the rich and the poor.

Socialistic society requires a much broader mass base of education than any other kind of society, because it cannot operate efficiently unless the people in it have such a high degree of social conscious-

ness that they will gladly accept much more social responsibility than is accepted in any other society. And since ignorant people will not accept social responsibility, the socialistic state has no choice but to spread education by compulsion as broadly and as rapidly as possible. This feature of socialistic society requires the elimination of superstition from the minds of the people, because superstition and education are incompatible in the modern world. Paganistic religions, for example, which thrive by spreading superstitious beliefs, mainly concerning supernaturalisms, are restricted in all socialistic society in matters pertaining to politics, economics, and sociology. In fact, all factors of every kind which have a tendency to strengthen superstitious beliefs are restricted by the state in this society, because they lead people away from facts, and thereby hamper the elimination of poverty, ignorance, and fear. Because of this some idealists contend that the socialistic state "persecutes" religion, but actually there is no persecution. Religion is simply kept in its proper sphere, the realm of the supernatural.

Capitalistic society does not require a broad base of mass education. Actually, the reactionary capitalists, who in nearly all cases control education in capitalistic society, believe in educating the masses only to the extent that the workers will be better able to aid capitalism. Reading, writing, and mathematics, for example, are taught because capitalistic society cannot operate unless workers know at least enough about these subjects to understand and act on orders, instructions, suggestions, and promises from capitalists. However, in all capitalistic society reactionary capitalists prevent the masses from learning political, economic, social, and religious facts that are contrary to the interests of capitalism. And these capitalists always make special efforts to prevent the masses from learning the economic and social principles of socialism. They do this because they do not want the masses to know the truth about this ideology—the only rival of capitalism.

The most common and potent, but least understood, device used in the struggle between capitalism and socialism is propaganda. Much of this propaganda is false or misleading, but because of the present importance of every kind of propaganda in the struggle,

pure objectiveness is no longer possible. (The propaganda struggle was unimportant, and hardly noticeable, before the First World War, but after that war, when capitalism began to weaken under the pressure of rising socialism, this struggle became very important. The supporters of capitalism then, as a defense measure, began to exaggerate greatly the goodness of capitalism. The advocates of socialism responded to this move by exaggerations as to what socialistic society would soon accomplish. The result of this situation was a gradual increase in misleading propaganda from both sides in the struggle. However, because scientific fact and truth favor the advocates of socialism more than the supporters of capitalism, the propaganda of the former is more reliable and objective than that of the latter. And it is much more often to the interests of the advocates of socialism to state the truth than it is to the supporters of capitalism to do so. For example, in order to increase, or even to make, profits it is often necessary for capitalists to mislead the public. The socialists, of course, are never hampered by a profit motive in explaining or rationalizing things. Also the supporters of capitalism, the great majority of whom are now idealists, can and do use many forms of superstition and supernaturalism, including those used in many paganistic religions, to the great advantage of capitalism, even though these forms are contrary to all scientific facts, reason, common sense, and the modern conception of truth. On the other hand, the modern materialists, the chief advocates of socialism, never try to mislead anyone by the use of such obviously fraudulent means. In fact, they always try to expose the fallacies in superstition, supernaturalisms, and paganistic religions generally.)

Propaganda, especially when it is strong and effective, is a very dangerous weapon as it sometimes misleads and ruins its sponsors and disseminators. For a very good example, capitalistic propaganda misled the European capitalists themselves to the extent that it finally became one of the chief weapons that overthrew European capitalistic society itself! This society had gradually deteriorated after the Russian Revolution, but it could easily have survived many years longer than it did, had not the capitalistic leaders and propagandists fooled a great many people, including themselves, by inventing and spreading falsehoods about socialistic society, and especially about

that society within the Soviet Union. During the two decades immediately following the First World War, practically all Europeans became aware of the fact that the Soviet Union was building a strong socialistic society, which was of value to world progress. But a tremendous amount of strong and continuous capitalistic propaganda convinced a large section of these people that all socialistic society was weak and bad, and that the great majority of the people in this society were "slaves" who desired to be "freed." It necessarily followed, according to the capitalistic propaganda, that socialistic society should be attacked by military force and destroyed. This propaganda especially contended that the strongest socialistic state, the Soviet Union, was so weak that it could be destroyed with little effort in a short war. It contended that the peoples of the Soviet Union wanted to return to a capitalistic society, and would rise in revolt against their socialistic society, including of course their leaders, if their country was attacked by capitalistic military force. This propaganda was, of course, absolutely false—as was clearly proved early in the Second World War—and it is not at all probable that the capitalistic leaders themselves believed any part of it at the beginning, but it was so effective and convincing that eventually they not only believed it—they actually acted on it! That is, the capitalistic leaders were finally deluded by their *own* propaganda into believing that all socialistic society would soon collapse if a military attack was made on the Soviet Union, and because of this they attacked that Union. (The American capitalists were fooled by their own propaganda, just as the European capitalists were fooled by theirs. During the Second World War the American capitalists believed that the Soviet Union was so weak that it could be destroyed, or at least rendered politically and economically impotent, at leisure—anytime after the war, when it was no longer needed as an ally against their competitors in Europe or in any other way useful to American capitalism.)

The modern theory of socialistic society began to develop during the later stages of the Renaissance, and many attempts were then made to establish such a society. But even though some of these attempts met with temporary success, this kind of society was not established on a permanent, national, basis anywhere until the twentieth century. This was due to the fact that civilization had not

advanced to the stage at which socialistic society was possible on a national basis before this century. Until this century, capitalism met the needs of the peoples in all advanced countries, and still had progressive possibilities in many other countries. Actually, it had not exhausted its possibilities anywhere in the world when this century began.

Socialistic society emerged in Russia long before that country was ready for it, and because of this the people had difficulty adjusting themselves to it, and fascistic elements would have prevented them from accepting it had not a socialistic dictatorship been established. On the other hand socialistic society did not emerge in England until that country had exhausted the possibilities of capitalism, and was ready for the new society. Because of this it was possible for the English people to adjust themselves to socialistic society with a minimum of difficulty and confusion, without serious risk of fascism, and they did so.

Many nations are not yet ready for socialistic society, and some may not be ready for it for many years, but even so few, if any, of them can safely delay for more than a generation or so the acceptance of this new form of society. This is because the transition from capitalistic society to socialistic society is now moving on a world-wide scale, and probably cannot be even temporarily halted without great suffering and hardship to the majority of the people. This transition cannot be delayed long in any capitalistic democracy without risk of fascism. Because of this, whenever a capitalistic democracy collapses or disintegrates to a level at which insecurity faces the majority of the people, socialistic society should be accepted, even though the people are not ready for it, and therefore cannot establish it without the aid of a socialistic dictatorship. Such a dictatorship is necessary when capitalistic democracy becomes very weak because the danger that fascistic elements will seize control of the state is then great, and drastic action must be taken if a retrograde motion of civilization is to be prevented. (The inconveniences involved in the discipline and regimentation required by a socialistic dictatorship are of such a nature that most of the peoples of the world can easily accept them. And these inconveniences are of a minor nature when compared with the consequences certain to result from a fascistic dictatorship,

which in most cases is the only alternative to a socialistic dictatorship when a capitalistic democracy becomes unable to provide security for its people.)

The Soviet Union is working hard to establish socialist society, but because of the many imponderable factors involved in the world situation it is impossible to determine when this can be done. It is clear, however, that the Soviet leaders will establish socialist society just as soon as they are able to do so, and it probably will be done during the present century.

Because of the unstable nature of the present world political-economic-social situation, the Soviet leaders must of necessity proceed slowly, and with extreme caution. They have no choice but to maintain a very strong military establishment for defense, even though this greatly delays the emergence of socialist society. They must proceed on the assumption that many years of hard work must be done before the Soviet peoples can enjoy the full benefits from their labor. Because of these circumstances, the Soviet leaders cannot relax their vigilance, or permit the people to "soften," as people do when they have access to an abundance of luxuries, as is the case, for example, in the United States.

Should the peoples of the Soviet Union develop a belief that the period of hard work has passed, and that it is no longer necessary for cooperation or vigilance, the process of building socialist society would be delayed, but there is no possibility that this will occur. The philosophy of the Soviet Union will prevent this, and the Soviet leaders will see to it that this philosophy is studied and understood by the people. These leaders will not relax their vigilance as long as there is any danger of a foreign attack. They know very well that any evidence of weakness within the Soviet Union would invite an attack by elements outside the Soviet Union that desire to prevent the establishment of socialist society, or the extension of any socialistic principles; therefore they will not permit any weakness to develop.

It is clear that the living and general cultural standards of the peoples of the Soviet Union, even though great reforms have been made, are not as high as they are in some capitalistic countries, but this fact is not important in the long range prospects of the Soviet peoples. Actually, these peoples are not thinking or working in terms

of the present, but in terms of the future. They are building primarily for their children, and all future generations, rather than for themselves. They, of course, receive some benefits for their efforts, and these benefits increase as socialistic principles are extended, but this is only incidental.

The Soviet peoples have been convinced that they can build a great society—the greatest ever known on earth, or perhaps ever imagined —and they are determined to do this. That they will succeed in building a great society is now a foregone conclusion. The stage in history at which they could have been prevented from doing this has passed, and now the only question involved is one of time required to complete the job. (If another world war is avoided, and world armaments greatly reduced, socialist society probably will be established within the Soviet Union during the present generation. In that event, the advantages of all children of the next generation born within the Soviet Union will be greater than the great majority of those born within any capitalistic country.)

There are, of course, many socialistic countries besides the Soviet Union that are now working hard to build socialist society, and some of them have established socialistic democracy; therefore from the standpoint of political development they are nearer to true socialist society than is the Soviet Union. But the progress of these other countries is limited by lack of natural resources. None of them have nearly as much of the natural resources of the earth as has the Soviet Union. This fact gives that Union an advantage in the race to establish socialist society, even though some of the other socialistic countries are ahead of it in political development.

CHAPTER XX

Religion

By definition every religion is a philosophy, and until the emergence of Materialism religion and philosophy were so nearly alike that there was no clear dividing line between them. (In the fields of thought and social control, all organized dogmatic religion may now properly be considered "theological," or "right-wing," Idealism—the chief instrument of social control in all capitalistic society.)

There never has been any serious disagreement between religion and idealistic philosophy. Actually, religion and Idealism have always complemented each other, and have always been allies in the field of social control. However, all materialistic philosophy has always been in general conflict with religion, and especially with organized dogmatic religion. This conflict increased in intensity with the emergence of Modern Materialism mainly because this philosophy contends, more strongly than any previous philosophy ever did, that religion should remain in its original field—the field of the supernatural—and should never, under any condition or circumstance, enter any other field.

Religion is based on belief in supernatural forces, which a great many people believe are in a field of things that cannot be proved or understood by any science technique. These supernatural forces are totally unknown to science, therefore, science cannot provide any evidence that they even exist. It follows that if these forces exist they are different from the natural forces, because these latter forces are known to science.

The supporters of the theory of supernatural forces and the supporters of the theory of natural forces are in conflict with each other in such a manner that no compromise between them is possible. Because of this conflict, which is basically between religion (super-

natural forces or things) and science (natural forces or things), the best interests of society require that religion be completely separated from all science (political, economic, and social), by a clearly defined dividing line.

Modern Materialism tries to explain religion and to separate it from politics, economics, and sociology. This philosophy recognizes the fact that religion has had, and continues to have, a profound effect on man, and because of this contends that religion should be explained from a scientific viewpoint. It does not attack, or seek to "abolish," religion, nor does it ignore religion. Because of the way civilization developed, religion probably was necessary, and in any case it did emerge almost everywhere; therefore, it is a subject that must be understood if civilization itself is to be understood. (Without doubt progress would be aided if more people understood the scientific explanation for the origin and development of religion. For example, it is reasonably certain that civilization would advance faster if more people knew why there are religions, and especially why there are now, and have been in the past, such a great many different religions.)

Modern Materialism does not seek to suppress or "abolish" religious ideas, but it does seek to explain these ideas from the standpoint of science. Also this philosophy does not seek to eliminate or to discourage a single religious custom which is not positively disadvantageous socially in the modern world. (Some religious customs which in former times were socially advantageous, and possibly necessary, are no longer so, but on the contrary are now socially disadvantageous, and wholly unnecessary. Modern Materialism seeks to eliminate these customs, solely because they are now harmful to humanity and a detriment to civilization and progress generally.)

During the early stages of its development—when it was taking the place of magic—religion aided progress. Also in many other periods, and especially during the Renaissance, specific forms of religion helped man to advance—mainly, however, by attacking and weakening other, older, forms of religion. (Ever since the beginning of the Protestant Reformation new forms of Christianity have been breaking off from their parent stems and in nearly every such instance these new forms have aided progress. For example, all of these forms

that the Protestants developed during the early stages of the Renaissance helped capitalism to overthrow feudalism. In fact, capitalism could not have emerged as a progressive ideology when it did had it not received strong support from new religious forms which were introduced by the Protestants.)

However, even though religion has aided progress, Modern Materialism holds that from now on religion cannot be expected to do this, because the interests of the religious leaders will demand, more than ever before, that progress be delayed. Because of this circumstance, this philosophy holds that from now on it will be contrary to the best interests of humanity, as well as of civilization and progress generally, for religious leaders to assume authority or leadership in matters pertaining to politics, economics, or sociology. It further holds that these leaders should not be permitted to mix religion with anything which is outside the field of supernatural things; that they should confine their authority and leadership to supernatural matters.

Modern Materialism holds that it is immoral and unethical, and therefore disadvantageous socially, for religious leaders to insist, as they often do, that a thing is true, and should be believed without any question, if there is no scientific evidence to support the belief that the thing concerned is true. It contends that this practice, which is common in practically all religious sects, undermines progressive thought—and greatly hampers the advancement of civilization—because it causes people to accept as truths things which are based mainly on ancient traditions and beliefs, and not on any scientific evidence. (The practice of insisting that a thing is true when there is no scientific evidence to support it leads to extreme confusion within the student body of all nations that allow it, because it is contrary to all modern, enlightened, educational methods, and therefore discredits these methods. This practice undermines and weakens all scientific teaching because it implies that science based on sense experience is of less value than belief based on traditions supported only by emotion and faith. It is the strongest force which keeps people ignorant, and because of this is a very strong brake on progress. It should be self-evident that traditions, which are unsupported by science, should not be accepted as truths beyond any question or

doubt, but because of the enormous influence of dogmatic religion they are so accepted by most people.)

Until the emergence of Modern Materialism, religion had always been inextricably intermingled with politics, economics, and sociology, and this situation had generally been accepted as an unavoidable, if not actually the "normal," state of things. Until then even progressives did not consider it improper for religious leaders to use the age-old "fear of the supernatural" idea to teach many things—and especially morals and ethics. And it was generally believed that the "fear of the supernatural" idea frightened people into living better (more socially advantageous) lives, and therefore was a desirable social force—an instrument of progress; that people were better morally and ethically if they feared supernatural things than if they did not fear such things; that it was not unethical to use the "fear of the supernatural" idea to try to raise the moral and ethical level of society, even though there was no scientific evidence that man had any cause to fear supernatural things. But when Modern Materialism began to emerge the validity of this general idea began to be doubted. This was due to the fact that this philosophy contends that religion should not be mixed with politics, economics, or sociology; that religion must confine itself to supernatural things, and must never concern itself with natural things. This philosophy insists that the "fear of the supernatural" idea not only is not a desirable social force, but actually is an extremely undesirable force from every standpoint. It contends that this idea has a very harmful psychological effect on people, especially young people, and therefore must never be used for any purpose. It further contends that morals and ethics, since they control action, are in the field of science (all "real" things, including all politics, economics, and sociology) and not in the field of supernatural things (which includes religion); therefore they are not proper subjects for religious leaders to teach; that it is not only very disadvantageous socially to use the "fear of the supernatural" idea to teach morals and ethics, but that actually the moral and ethical level of the individual or the group cannot be raised by the use of this fear. (Science, mainly through psychology, strongly supports this view. It contends that no good, but great harm, is caused by using the "fear of the supernatural" idea to frighten people, and

supports the position, held by practically all materialists, that people should keep their moral and ethical codes separate from their religion.)

Modern Materialism contends that religion is a technique for social control, and will not be necessary for this purpose when there is no longer a need for such control. It also contends that social control is necesary only when there is a need for control of man's material needs, and that no such control will be necessary when these needs are satisfied and man accepts full social responsibility. It further contends that socialism will satisfy all material needs and will also educate man to accept social cooperation and responsibility as his chief guides for action. In other words, this philosophy holds that when socialism is fully accepted all need for social control will be eliminated. Because of this attitude toward social control, the priesthood, with some exceptions, of organized religion oppose this philosophy, as it not only presents a grave danger to their control of society, but also threatens their mode of existence—and their economic security. However, some members of the priesthood do not oppose, but on the contrary sometimes actuallly aid, Modern Materialism. These are the more progressive members, and they are interested in the material welfare, as well as the spiritual welfare, of their followers. (Some of the extreme "left-wing" materialists consider all priests charlatans, and hold that when a priest aids any materialistic philosophy he does so only because he has become convinced that the time will come when the material wealth of the world will be controlled mainly by materialists rather than by idealists, and is rationalizing the expected future situation in advance. But the great majority of the materialists reject this view as unsound, and an unfair reflection on the character of a large, and very influential, segment of the human race.)

Organized religion being a non-producer of material wealth, and therefore dependent on those who control the production of this wealth for its existence, always supports the dominant economic interests. In order to survive organized religion has no choice but to maintain that the *present* economic and social order is the best or proper one, and nearly all religious leaders always adjust their doc-

trines (interpret their standard works of reference, laws, regulations, rules, instructions, etc.) to support this view.

Organized religion, along with all other non-producers of material wealth, will always oppose change. (History clearly indicates that the dominant religions of all periods in all nations have always contended that the political, economic, social, and religious systems of their periods and places should not be changed.) To prevent, hamper, and delay change, organized religion encourages people to be satisfied with their condition of life and place in society. It tries to convince the poor that their usual condition (need for food, clothing, shelter, medical care, and other material necessities of life) is at worst only temporary; that conditions will be better in the next world for those among the poor who "bear their burdens" with fortitude, and do not cause "trouble" for their "betters" in this world. This approach to the problems of the poor favors the rich, as it helps to prevent the poor from forcing a more equal distribution of things in society, a situation which obviously would hurt the rich and help the poor. (The rich, who are always present in any "class" society, can always have whatever material things they need in this world, and therefore never need promises of a better life in the next world to sustain them. The poor in such a society, however, sometimes have to be compensated for the lack of material things in this world by promises of equality in all things in the next world.)

Modern Materialism especially opposes as socially disadvantageous the mind warping but common religious practice of frightening little children with stories of torture in the hereafter, the unhygienic aspects of many widespread religious practices, such for examples as many different people with infectious or communicable diseases kissing the same religious symbol when no germ eradicator is used between kisses, the use of religion to inject emotion and prejudice into politics, and the way religion is used to obtain money from the poor and ignorant under false pretenses—mainly by promises of a reward in the next world for gifts in this world. It holds that these aspects of religion must be eliminated as they contribute to physical and mental disease, political corruption, an increase in the want, fear, and misery of the poor, and in general to lower moral and ethical standards of society. It holds that secular agencies are far

better qualified to meet the political, economic, and social needs of a country, nation, group, or of an individual than any religious agency is, or ever can be, and contends that religion should be completely separated from politics, economics, and sociology, that is, from everything except the supernatural. However, this philosophy does not especially concern itself with religion except when religion interferes with man's basic needs—those of freedom from want and fear. It carefully avoids any suggestion of favoring religious persecution, and considers all religious beliefs of every kind as strictly personal matters in which every individual has the inalienable right to hold or not to hold as he chooses. It contends that no one has a right to force, or in any way to impose, any particular religious belief on anyone. It contends that religious belief must never, under any circumstance, be used to frighten anyone, and it very strongly insists that the use of religion to frighten a child is a crime against both the child and society. It opposes the teaching of religion to young children mainly on the ground that because of the great many conflicting religious doctrines and beliefs, each of which is held by some high religious authority to be the *only true* doctrine or belief, a young child is always frightened or confused, and is often mentally unbalanced, malajusted, or disturbed by religion.

Modern Materialism contends that the immature and sensitive mind of a child is severely strained and impaired when it tries to understand even the most common and widely accepted religious teachings, such for examples as the "everlasting hell" and the "born in sin" theories. It contends that the reasoning power of a child is undermined and distorted by these and similar theories which pervade most Christian religious teachings. It holds that attempts to force a child to accept such theories as matters of belief and faith, unsupported by scientific evidence, and contrary to reason and common sense, interfere with his proper, normal development as a reasoning, rational, being; such attempts therefore should, in the interest of society, be prevented by law. (Modern Materialism holds that children have a natural self-evident right to government protection against all enforced belief in anything that is contrary to science, reason, and common sense, and this includes much religious dogma. It holds that not even parents have a moral or ethical right to force

any belief on their children, if this belief cannot be supported by scientific evidence.) In short, this philosophy holds that a child is not able to comprehend supernaturalism, and cannot be taught it without risk of mental derangement; therefore it must not be forced upon him.

Many modern materialists readily concede, and in fact contend, that religion should be explained (taught) to adults in public institutions, but they hold that this should be done in a wholly objective manner, just as science is; that is without emotion, prejudice, or bias which may have a tendency to favor any particular religious sect or belief. They hold that whenever religion is taught in any public institution each of the more prominent religions should be given the emphasis and attention its influence on man entitles it to have.

A great many different religious sects now contend that man is faced with the alternatives of reward or punishment (heaven or hell) in a future life, and cannot possibly escape these alternatives; that every human being on earth is always in danger of being condemned to everlasting horrible torture; that many millions of human beings now living, and many more millions yet unborn, shall be so condemned and tortured. Some of these sects contend that a great many people cannot escape this torture—because they were predestined to suffer—but most of them hold that anyone can escape it if he follows a particular religious plan. However, each sect presents a different plan or method of escape! Each sect holds that its own particular system is the true one, and that all the others are either false or based on a misunderstanding of God's wishes, and therefore cannot be depended upon to aid anyone. All of these sects now ceaselessly teach this punishment doctrine, even to small children who are completely at the mercy of their teachers, and have been doing so for such a long time that it is now a firmly established practice wherever Idealism is the most influential philosophy. If this doctrine is true, and most Christian and Mohammedan religious leaders insist that it is true, then the very worst crime anyone can be guilty of is to become a parent. This is, or should be, a self-evident truth, needing no proof, in every mature mind. Obvoiusly, humans should not be brought into a world where such a terrible danger

must be faced, no matter how remote that danger is. Even one chance in a billion would be too great a risk to force anyone to take. But many religious sects do not concede that the chance of escaping everlasting torture is better than even, and a considerable number of them consider the odds heavily in favor of this torture! (Many materialists contend that these aspects of religion have ruined or distorted the minds of billions of human beings; that more people's lives have been wrecked because of fear of torture in the hereafter than from any other cause. For these reasons they contend that the fear of hell is the greatest and worst of all evils, and insist that the teaching of it to children must be abolished by law. No materialistic philosophy has ever taught, or in any way implied, that people are faced with the prospect of torture, or unpleasantness of any kind, in the hereafter, and there is absolutely no reason for assuming that this kind of philosophy will ever do so. Actually, all materialistic philosophy of every kind rejects entirely all such ideas as nonsense of a socially disadvantageous nature. Ever since the later stages of the Renaissance period this aspect of materialistic philosophy has had a tremendous influence on the thinking of all educated people in the Christian world and because of this only a few, if any, of these people now believe in a hell, or torture of any kind, after death. Even many religious leaders who now teach the doctrine of hell and damnation do not really believe in it. They, however, often feel it necessary or desirable to teach this doctrine to ignorant people in order to maintain control of such people. That is, they consider this doctrine a necessary technique for social control—an unethical means to a good end, and, therefore, justifiable even though it may be entirely false.) In strange contrast to the teaching of the torture of human beings, no important religious sect in history has ever taught that lower animals, reptiles, insects, or in fact any form of life except the human (God's special creation) will suffer in the hereafter!

Modern Materialism holds that religion, as it is practiced in all capitalistic and pre-capitalistic countries, is a tool which the owning classes use to prevent the masses from improving their economic condition; that only by education can this situation be changed. It holds that much of the money now being spent on churches, temples,

mosques, synagogues, monasteries, nunneries, and other buildings that exist primarily for preparing people for the next world should be diverted to non-sectarian public institutions such as schools, libraries, hospitals, natural history and science museums, art galleries, community club houses, recreational facilities, etc., which aid people while they are alive. (This attitude toward buildings used for religious purposes was adopted by European and Asiatic progressives after the First World War, and it has now been generally accepted in Europe and Asia. Many thousands of churches, and other buildings used primarily for religious purposes, which were destroyed in the two world wars have not been replaced, and probably not more than ten per cent of them will ever be. The influence of religion in politics, economics, and sociology in Europe and Asia has been greatly reduced because of this situation.)

Many, if not most, religious sects contend that God is all-powerful, all-wise (all-knowing), and all-loving, but all materialist philosophers insist that this conception of God is contrary to the evidence of the senses as well as to reason. And they point out that the concept of heaven (in the next world) ruled by a god is contrary to the modern conception of a democracy. The head of a democracy, for example, must always be elected by the people he presides over, he must rule according to the wishes of these people, and he can be removed from office by them. But no god is ever elected, or is ever obliged to rule in accordance with the wishes of the people. In fact, the gods never consult the people on anything, and none of them can be removed from office by the people under any circumstance. All, or at least nearly all, gods rule as they please, and often their pleasure is contrary to the desires or needs of the people. For example, gods sometimes send rain when the people want dry weather, and vice versa. (No important leader of organized religion has ever considered heaven a democracy, but on the contrary practically all religious leaders throughout history agree that heaven is a permanent dictatorship. And the gods of many religious sects are good examples of cruel, wrathful, jealous, exacting, capricious, and permanent dictators.)

Most Christian religious leaders contend that God, of necessity, must not reveal Himself, or all the reasons for His actions, to man.

They contend that God's ways must remain mysterious for the good of mankind; that expressions such as "God moves in mysterious ways His wonders to perform" are good and sufficient explanations for the suffering on earth and in hell of millions of innocent children, and even little babies, under the ever watchful eyes of an all-loving and all-powerful God! But all materialist philosophers totally reject these explanations as being absolute nonsense, unworthy of a moment of consideration, and contend that only ignorant or sadistic people accept such explanations.

In nations where Modern Materialism is the dominant philosophy, religious institutions become weak in political, economic, and social fields. This is due to the fact that this philosophy teaches that political, economic, and social affairs should be controlled only by secular agencies, and eventually the people accept this principle. In the Soviet Union, for example, all of the political, economic, and social services which were formerly rendered by religious agencies are now rendered by secular agencies. Religion there, in fact as well as in theory, has been separated from practically everything but the supernatural.

Modern Materialism holds that it is practically impossible for any two persons to think exactly alike on any subject—and especially on such a subject as religion, on which there are a great many differences of opinion even among the most highly educated people—for a considerable length of time. (This necessarily follows from the contention of this philosophy that all things, including of course thoughts, are constantly changing. This contention carries with it the implication that no one can prevent his ideas from changing.) It holds that because of this situation, religion will reach its highest form when each individual (personality) is recognized as having the right to change his religious opinions as often as he wishes, and to hold and expound such opinions without fear of reprisal from any political, economic, social, or religious agency. In other words, this philosophy holds that religion is a private affair of the individual which he may change at will; that true religious freedom will exist only when it is possible from a political-economic-social-religious standpoint for everyone to hold, and to acknowledge freely, any religious idea he

chooses, even though it may be entirely different from any other religious idea.

Most modern materialists hold that religious people have lower than average moral and ethical codes, and they contend that the populations of penitentiaries, reformatories, jails, etc., provide evidence to support this theory. (It is true that the percentage of people convicted of crime, and anti-social conduct generally, is higher among those who have often attended religious services than it is among those who have not, but this may be due to the fact that the great majority of religious people are very ignorant. Because of their lack of education, many religious people do not understand as fully as others do the desirability from a social standpoint of maintaining high moral and ethical standards. Fear of punishment from a supernatural being sometimes has a tendency to make deeply religious people maintain comparatively high standards of conduct, but many of these people eventually lose at least some of this fear. When they do this they become cynical, and unless they "regain" their fear they usually lower their moral and ethical standards to a socially disadvantageous level. Practically all materialists consider this a good and sufficient reason why one should never mix his morals and ethics with his religion. Obviously, a person who keeps his morals and ethics entirely separate from, and independent of, his religion is not as liable to lower his moral and ethical standards if he loses his fear of a supernatural being as he would be if his standards of conduct depended upon his religion.)

Modern Materialism holds that it is undesirable from the standpoint of proper or "healthy" development of society for people to worship a god, or in any other way practice religion, by such conduct as disobeying state law, encouraging others to disobey state law, screaming, shouting, weeping, moaning, loud public praying, praying to statues (including ikons, etc.) or relics, or confessing "sins"; jumping, hopping, dancing, rolling on floors or ground, kneeling, waving arms or performing other gymnastics, pounding or slapping bibles or other religious works of any kind; kissing toes, feet, hands, rings, statues or idols generally; carrying "charms," groveling, degrading one's self, assuming servile postures, doing penances, selling or buying "indulgences," sitting on nails or tacks, beating or cutting

one's self or another, subverting or "sublimating" the natural sex instinct, starving or fasting, drinking intoxicating beverages, drinking water in which a religious leader has bathed or using any other kind of "holy" water, washing another person's feet, christening babies, "counting" beads, wearing peculiar or distinctly unconventional clothing, handling poisonous snakes, worshiping sex symbols or human bones. It holds that all such or similar conduct is unseemly and has a harmful psychological effect on the young, when practiced in connection with any kind of religious worship or rites. It also holds, however, that almost all of this conduct is due to very ancient customs and traditions, and therefore cannot, and should not, be abruptly stopped or drastically changed. And this philosophy especially contends that no force should ever be used to change any of this conduct, except in cases where it causes crime against society or spreads disease; that in nearly all cases changes in this conduct should be brought about only by the most tactful educational methods, in which extreme care is exercised to avoid hurting anyone's feelings. (Modern Materialism concedes that much of the pageantry, group singing, music, ceremonies, etc., commonly used by religious sects, provide innocuous entertainment and recreation, especially for ignorant old people, and therefore should not be discontinued or interfered with, unless satisfactory substitutes are provided.)

There can be no doubt that all organized religion, including Buddhism, Christianity, Confucianism, Hinduism, Jainism, Judaism, Mohammedanism, Mormanism, Shintoism, Sikhism, Taoism, and Zoroastrianism, will become weaker in political, economic, and social fields if society accepts socialism, the ideology which Modern Materialism seeks to establish. Practically all materialists, and even most idealists, accept this as a foregone conclusion, mainly because one of the chief principles of socialism is that religion must be separated from politics, economics, and sociology.

CHAPTER XXI

Freedom

Historically, true and complete freedom has always been the goal of all progressive thinkers, but it has never been gained by anyone and never even remotely approached by a large group. At the present stage of human development and civilization the nearest approach to freedom attainable consists of a compromise; a combination of political freedom, economic freedom, social freedom, and religious freedom. None of these units of freedom can be entirely separated from all the others, and all of them are bound up with each other in such a manner that they must be taken as a group. However, more emphasis may be placed on one freedom unit than on another, and this is precisely what has always been done throughout history. For various reasons people have never placed equal value on each of the four units of freedom, but instead have always preferred one for a time, and then changed to another.

From the later period of tribal society until about the sixteenth century A.D. the gods, through their representatives on earth, regulated all matters in any way connected with freedom, and they saw to it that only a chosen few such as religious leaders, kings, lords, and others of the ruling and owning classes, had any considerable amount of freedom of any kind. The poor got practically no freedom at all, nor did anyone, except a few "radicals" who occasionally appeared in history, consider that the poor were entitled to any freedom. Certainly neither the gods nor anyone else gave the poor any political, economic, or religious freedom. Except for the few who were especially favored by the gods, freedom for untold ages was reserved only for the rich. The poor, and the lower classes generally, were not free, and could not be free. They were expected to do exactly what a chosen few told them to do or suffer the conse-

quences, and the consequences very often meant torture and death.

During the sixteenth century the poor in Europe began to demand religious freedom, and until only recently they have placed great emphasis on this freedom unit. The poor, having little on earth but troubles, believed that they would find peace and happiness in heaven, if they could get there. But they finally began to doubt the ability of their religious leaders to show the way to heaven. They wanted a sure road to follow, and insisted that this road could not be found unless they had religious freedom to search for it. The Roman Catholic Church denied them this freedom, but when the Reformation began the Protestants offered religious freedom to anyone who supported their movement. Because of this offer a large section of the poor joined the Protestants, and this aid made Protestantism possible.

The struggle for religious freedom undoubtedly reached its crest in the wars of the Reformation, and may now be considered won as far as educated and intelligent people are concerned. This freedom, however, will not be completely and finally won until every person in the world has obtained the right to believe as he chooses without jeopardizing in any way any part of his political, economic, or social freedom or security.

Until the last half of the eighteenth century the poor apparently believed that religious freedom was the only kind of freedom worth risking their lives for. At that time, however, they began to take a great interest in political freedom and social freedom, and many of them died fighting for these freedoms. Some few exceptionally bold men then even went so far as to demand political freedom for all of the poor. They did this in spite of the fact that until the eighteenth century nearly everyone agreed that political freedom for the poor was forever beyond the bounds of possibility. The demand and struggle for political freedom probably reached its crest during the American Revolution, and since then this freedom has been accepted, and firmly established, as a "natural" right of man, but the fight for it has not yet been won.

The struggle for social freedom is very old, and it probably reached its crest during the French Revolution, but it cannot be won until man has secured economic freedom (economic security). This is because social freedom is very closely bound up with and dependent

upon economic freedom and the strongest and most influential advocates of social freedom, the modern materialists, contend that man cannot obtain it until he has obtained economic freedom. (The modern materialists contend that the struggle for economic freedom is paramount, and must be won before any other kind of freedom is possible. Because of the emphasis that these materialists place on economic freedom in all countries where Materialism is the dominant philosophy the struggle for this freedom deeply overshadows the struggle for social freedom.)

The greatest struggle in society in the present period is for economic freedom (economic security), but this is a comparatively recent development. There was little conscious effort, or even hope, for economic freedom for the great mass of the people until the Russian Revolution, but that conflict was fought primarily for economic freedom for all, and the struggle has spread all over the world. The people in all socialistic countries are now obtaining economic freedom, and the people in all capitalistic countries are now becoming conscious of a need for it and are seeking ways and means to obtain it. Unrest and "abnormal" conditions generally are to be expected in all capitalistic society until this kind of freedom is secured.

The struggle for economic freedom has not yet reached its climax, but it probably will do so during the present century, mainly because the advancement of knowledge and the general spread of education have caused a great many poor people to understand that all aspects of economic freedom are important and valuable, while many of the aspects of other concepts of freedom are of no value to the poor in the modern world, but on the contrary are of value to those who exploit and defraud the poor.

Some of the common examples of what are called political, economic, social, and religious freedoms are not really freedoms, but are merely licenses which aid the few to harm the many. (Freedom to deny medical aid to children because of religious beliefs of parents or others, freedom to fill the minds of children with superstitious beliefs and thereby make them easier for charlatans to control, and freedom to mislead people, by false advertising, into doing things which injure their health are common examples of these licenses.) These "freedoms" aid dishonest, avaricious, clever persons to profit

by pandering to the emotions, prejudices, and superstitions of the ignorant. Actually, in all capitalistic society practically all aspects of political, economic, social, and religious freedoms are used as means to take unfair economic advantage of unsuspecting ignorant people. Probably the best example of this condition is the aspect of religious freedom which permits charlatans to collect money from the ignorant poor solely on promises of supernatural aid in this world and a great reward in the next world. This obviously is a very welcome and advantageous freedom for charlatans, as it serves to make life easier for them, but it harms the poor, as it serves to make them poorer. (According to modern materialists the ethics of those who take advantage of this kind of freedom is no higher than that of thieves and liars, but even so it is practiced wherever religion has much influence in politics, economics, or sociology.)

A good example of misuse and abuse of freedom is the way that freedom of speech and press is used in capitalistic countries. In these countries this freedom aids reaction more than it does progress, even though it is a very progressive freedom and was won entirely by progressives. The reason for this contradictory situation is that during recent years new techniques for spreading propaganda have been so highly developed that they make this freedom a more powerful force than it ever before was in political, economic, and social affairs. These propaganda techniques are so costly that they are usually available only to those who control great wealth, and since within capitalistic countries the reactionaries and their allies control nearly all of the wealth, they are the only people who can take full advantage of these techniques. (The reactionaries constantly use freedom of speech and press to praise reactionary ideas and to denounce progressive ideas. These people constantly spread—by means of the new techniques—this kind of propaganda over all capitalistic countries, and no effective counter propaganda is, or can be, used against it to offset it. Because of this, the minds of the people in all capitalistic society are conditioned to accept reactionary ideas as the only truths and to reject progressive ideas as falsehoods. As a result of this circumstance, reactionary ideas greatly influence all thought and action of the very great majority of the people in all capitalistic countries. On the other hand, the progressives have no efficient means

by which propaganda may be spread in such countries; therefore their ideas have very little influence, except in times of great crises, when reactionary propaganda is sometimes questioned.)

Modern Materialism holds that economic freedom is the paramount freedom; that it is more important than all the other freedoms combined; that if man has economic freedom he can dispense with all the other kinds of freedom and still live, but that he cannot live long on any one of the other kinds of freedom, or on all of them taken collectively or in any combination whatever; that without economic freedom man is still in bondage even though he possesses political, social, and religious freedom to the fullest extent. (Opponents of this theory contend that slaves have had economic freedom, but were not satisfied with their condition because they did not have political freedom. This assumption is fallacious because as a matter of fact slaves never have economic freedom. Their economic condition is always inextricably entwined with their political bondage. Actually, they have no real freedom of any kind, not even social or religious freedom.)

Man must have economic freedom before much more progress can be made toward extending any other aspect of freedom. If man has economic freedom he can solve his political, social, and religious problems without difficulty. But the lack of economic freedom enslaves him, as political and religious leaders who control his means of existence then control him altogether, mainly by intimidation by means available within the "social superstructure." In other words, without economic freedom man cannot be free from want and fear, and has no choice but to submit to political, social, and religious pressure in order to live.

Fear is the worst enemy of man, and man cannot reach his highest state of happiness or usefulness until he is freed from fear. For many centuries untold millions of people, mainly Christians and Mohammedans, were so certain of being free from all fear and troubles of every kind in heaven (the next world) that they practically banished their fear of anything in this world. These people fully expected to be rewarded in the next world for enduring with fortitude their troubles—including, of course, those caused by their lack of the necessities of life—in this, and they generally believed

that the more trouble they had on earth the greater their reward in heaven. But skepticism—doubt about the next world—finally overtook them, and the great majority of them now want at least a part of their "reward" here. And the minimum "reward" that will satisfy these people is economic security. Mainly because of this situation, which has developed greatly since the First World War, fear must now be considered in its relation to economics as well as to religion.

The chief cause of fear in the modern world is material want (lack of present and future economic security), and not wrathful gods, as was the case for many thousands of years of human existence. That is, modern fear is due mainly to want, rather than to the thought of everlasting torture in hell. It is a by-product of the need of man for material things, as well as a by-product of religion. Because of this, freedom from fear is not now possible unless there is freedom from want. In short, people cannot now banish fear until they have economic security. This will become clearer as time passes and socialistic principles become better known to the people, and all political leaders of the future will have to recognize this situation, according to this philosophy.

Many materialists believe that not much more progress can be made toward establishing economic security (economic freedom) for the people until the people are freed from their age-old fear of a "wrathful" god. They contend that as long as people retain this fear charlatans can control them. This opinion, however, is not held by many modern materialists. The great majority of these materialists contend that it is not the fear of a wrathful god that keeps people in economic bondage, but on the contrary that economic bondage is the direct cause of this fear. They hold that when man obtains economic freedom he will soon thereafter discard his fear of a wrathful deity, because the ties which bind him to this deity will then become less strong—and eventually will be broken. They insist that the state can—and should—free man from economic insecurity by guaranteeing him an income sufficient for his needs. This, they insist, would eventually eliminate not only all fear here but also all fear of the hereafter. It is of little importance to materialistic philosophy which group is correct as both of them agree that if man is freed from both the fear of economic insecurity and from the fear of a wrathful god

he will soon thereafter automatically become totally free. And in any case, practically all materialists not only agree that the desirability of removing both of these fears is self-evident, but also constantly work for this end.

The theory of economic freedom is a late philosophical concept, and little attention was given it, even by philosophers, until the nineteenth century. The general public gave practically no attention to it before the early part of the twentieth century, but since then it has developed rapidly, and it received a great impulse during the Russian Revolution, when demand for economic freedom became very strong. Since that Revolution this demand has never waned at all, but instead has steadily increased. This increase has been so definite and rapid that economic freedom is now attracting more attention, and more proponents, than any other kind of freedom.

It is self-evident that no one can be completely free who does not have complete possession of the four elements of freedom, that is, political freedom, economic freedom, social freedom, and religious freedom. But it is obvious that this concept of freedom is unattainable at present, and therefore a different concept must be accepted for the time being; that until a much higher percentage of the people are educated enough to take part in public affairs on a basis of knowledge and understanding rather than emotion, faith, belief, superstition, or prejudice, each freedom unit can only be given the emphasis its ability to aid progress entitles it to have.

CHAPTER XXII

Aims and Accomplishments

The chief aim of Materialism is to make the world a better place in which to live. Modern Materialism seeks to accomplish this aim by establishing socialist society all over the world. This society is to operate under one or more democratic governments. One government is preferable, but not necessary, for the efficient operation of this kind of society. This philosophy favors "one world" government, and aids efforts to establish such a government, but in any case, regardless of the number of governments, complete freedom from want and fear is to be provided and guaranteed to all of the peoples of the world. This condition is to be brought about by means of public ownership of the chief natural resources and productive forces (the means of production and distribution) and the abolition of the exploitation of human beings.

Modern Materialism concedes that because the capitalistic forces of the world control most of the means of information and propaganda generally, true socialist society cannot be established everywhere for at least several generations. Because of this situation, this philosophy at present seeks only to establish *socialistic* society, which will pave the way for, and will eventually be succeeded by, true socialist society. And it contends that socialistic society will be established on a world-wide basis within the comparatively near future. The basic aims of this transitional society are as follows:

1. Complete security. This includes economic and social security as well as safety and security of person, for every human being from birth to death. The state is to provide, or ensure, opportunity for useful remunerative work, under just and favorable conditions, for all employables, and subsistence for all unemployables. (That is, the state is to guarantee all employables the right to work—to gainful

employment — and to prevent enforced unemployment. The old, young, sick, disabled, etc., are to be considered unemployables, and will be cared for by the state. In no case is anyone to suffer because of lack of food, clothing, shelter, heat, light, medical care, education, etc., due to circumstances beyond his control.) The right to rest and leisure is also included in this aim.

2. Full citizenship. This includes the right to vote, to be elected to office, to equality of public service, and to all other rights and privileges of citizens for all people who have reached their eighteenth birthday. (No citizen is to have more rights or privileges than any other citizen.)

3. A rapid and constant rise in the national health rate. (The state is to assume the responsibility for preserving both national and individual health by establishing complete free and compulsory medical care and service for everyone.)

4. Full public responsibility for the care and well being of all children. (Each child is held to be born with certain natural, self-evident, rights such as the right to health, education, wholesome environment, expression, play, congenial associates, protection against enforced superstition, etc., and the state is to guarantee these rights.) Child labor, except light home chores, is to be abolished.

5. Free and compulsory public school education for everyone under eighteen years of age. Education of older people is to be free, but not compulsory, and each of these students is to select the field in which he is to study. (All education in socialistic society is designed to free people from superstition as well as from ignorance. It promotes cooperation, and endeavors to develop human personality and to strengthen respect for human rights and freedoms. All adult education in this society is designed to equip people to change the world to make it conform to human needs, rather than to condition people to fit into their environment as education in capitalistic society does.)

6. Full equality of the sexes. (Modern Materialism holds that a mother and child have a natural right to special care and assistance.)

7. Full equality of opportunity for everyone. (This aim is designed to permit each person to realize all of his best potentialities. It in-

cludes the abolition of all social classes, and all factors that tend to create such classes.)

8. Elimination of the accident of birth as a factor in the advancement of the individual in so far as this is possible by science. (It is expected that the socialistic system itself will greatly reduce the effects of this factor, and it is assumed that science will finally eliminate it entirely, but not within the predictable future. Modern Materialism assumes that all people are born free and equal in dignity and rights, and endowed by nature with reason and conscience, are equal before the law, and have the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.)

9. Elimination of all distinctions based on race, color, religion, language, parentage, nationality, national or social origin, property status, etc. (This aim is designed mainly to eliminate tensions between various groups.)

10. Elimination of false and misleading advertising, but especially of material things such as alcohol, tobacco, drugs, etc., that injure health. (An educational campaign to explain the evil effects on health of things that contain habit forming drugs is to be undertaken by the state with the object of reducing their use. Also strict enforcement of a law against obtaining money, or profit of any kind, under false pretenses is to supplement this campaign.)

11. An immediate rise of the standard of living of the poor. (This is to be accomplished by reducing the cost of the necessities and comforts of life, even if state subsidies to pay for such things are necessary.)

12. Freedom of each adult to own a home and large garden, and anything else not necessary for socialistic production and distribution. That is, in addition to a house and several acres of land an adult may own any amount of house furnishings of every kind, automobiles, radios, clothing, tools, books, works of art, musical instruments, watches, jewelry, sporting goods, pets, etc., and at least almost all other things usually owned by the rich and upper classes in capitalistic society, but not used for exploiting the poor. (All things used for large scale production and distribution, such as large farms, mines, forests, factories, power and light systems, transportation and

communication systems, water and gas systems, stores, banks, etc., are to be publicly owned.)

13. Separation of religion from politics, economics, and sociology.

14. Complete freedom of thought, conscience, opinion, religion, and expression. Every one is to be free to seek, receive, and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers. (This includes the freedom for unrestricted intellectual inquiry.) The right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association is included in this aim.

15.Full civil rights and liberties, and all other human rights, liberties, freedoms, and privileges secured by any constitution or law now in effect anywhere in the world which are not in conflict with the above mentioned fourteen points. (Modern Materialism does not seek to take away any real human rights, liberties, freedoms, or privileges that have already been established. However, it does not consider the exploitation of human beings, or the use of the chief natural resources and chief industries of a country for private profit, legitimate rights, liberties, freedoms, or privileges.)

There is conclusive proof that a nation whose dominant philosophy is Modern Materialism can quickly establish a socialistic society and fulfill at least parts of all the above mentioned aims. And there is good evidence that such a nation can establish socialist society.

Modern Materialism contends that eventually, but not within the predictable future, socialist society will establish complete political, economic, social, and religious freedom for everyone—and that this condition will be permanent. It holds that when the people realize that this finally will be done the state will begin to wither away, and that soon after these freedoms are fully and permanently established the state will disappear forever.

The great accomplishments of man since the beginning of the Renaissance are due primarily to the influence of materialistic philosophy. This philosophy, by supporting science and opposing all forms of superstition, has since then been the chief instrument by which the living standard has been raised. And since the emergence of Modern Materialism its effectiveness in this field has been greatly

increased, mainly among the poor—those who most need a rise in their living standard.

Modern Materialism has been especially effective in raising the living and general cultural levels of very backward peoples. Wherever it has been accepted as a national philosophy by such peoples it has raised these levels. This is now clearly evident in large areas of eastern Europe and northern Asia. For example, the peoples of the many countries which now compose the Soviet Union accepted Modern Materialism at a time when they were steeped in appalling ignorance and superstition, and their living standard was much lower than the average of Europe. Actually, these peoples were then at least a hundred years behind the peoples of such countries as England, Scotland, Wales, France, Germany, Switzerland, the Netherlands, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden in cultural development and were making practically no progress. (This situation was due mainly to the fact that the Renaissance, and especially the Protestant Reformation, had not penetrated deeply into eastern Europe and Asia. The peoples there had received practically no benefit from that intellectual revolution that freed much of western Europe from the ignorance and superstition of the Dark Ages.) In addition to the general backwardness of the peoples of the Soviet Union when they accepted Modern Materialism they were then thoroughly demoralized and depressed by a crushing defeat in war, and a large part of their country was in ruins. Most of these peoples—probably the great majority—were in despair, on the verge of starvation, and also under military attack by many invading foreign armies. In short, conditions within their country were so chaotic that there seemed no basis for hope for either themselves or their country. But at this critical moment, when the outlook for the peoples was at its worst—apparently hopeless—Modern Materialism, a philosophy of political, economic, and social action, was introduced to them, and it guided them through their period of extreme national peril; it showed them how to overcome great adversity. Within a few years—much less than a generation—after this philosophy began to influence these peoples, they changed their condition of despair to one of confidence, and firmly established the Soviet Union.

There is no doubt that during the first twenty years of its existence

the Soviet Union advanced faster in scientific, cultural, and social fields generally, than any other country ever did in the same length of time. And all of this progress—which raised considerably the living standard of the people—was made under the influence of Modern Materialism. In fact no other philosophy has ever aided the development of the Soviet Union.

Under the guiding influence of Modern Materialism the Soviet Union began to adopt the basic aims of socialistic society, and soon thereafter began to evolve as a socialistic state. This Union eventually put into practice enough of each of these aims to be properly considered a socialistic state, and is now so considered by most authorities on political-economic-social systems. (Some authorities and others, including most socialists residing in capitalistic countries, contend that very little individual freedom exists in the Soviet Union, and therefore it does not meet the requirements of a socialistic state. However, those who hold that the Soviet Union is a socialistic state contend that the restrictions on freedom there are necessary in the interest of national security. They hold that because of the existing generally unsettled world political situation some restrictions on many aspects of freedom must be accepted by even the most advanced states—whether socialistic or capitalistic. In any case, national security usually takes precedence over freedom of individual action in all states, and this condition is accepted as necessary by most political leaders. The degree of individual freedom allowed is determined by the dangers confronting the states.)

The socialistic reforms which the Soviet Union adopted and put into practice greatly strengthened that country, and did not in any way weaken it as some critics contend. This should be obvious because shortly after the Soviet Union introduced these reforms, and as a consequence established socialistic society, it defeated a counter-revolt by local reactionary forces which, aided by the armies of many foreign powers, including the United States, the British Empire, France, and Japan, at one time held all but about one-sixteenth of its territory. And in 1941 it withstood, and finally defeated, the tremendous Nazi-Fascist attack on Moscow, the greatest military shock ever received by any country, society, or government that survived the shock. These two severe and exacting tests provide conclusive

evidence that these reforms strengthened the morale and the material condition of the Soviet Union, and also that they will strengthen any other country that adopts them on a nation-wide scale. There is also much other good evidence that reforms of a socialistic nature strengthen a country. For example, after the Second World War many countries were faced with economic and social chaos, and to prevent national disaster they immediately began to introduce reforms like or similar to those included in the basic aims of socialistic society. These reforms strengthened these countries, and saved the people from extreme suffering. In short, the evidence is conclusive that reforms that aid the great majority of the people strengthen a country or nation, and there is no good evidence that such reforms weaken a country or nation. (This is true whether the country or nation concerned is socialistic or capitalistic.)

The introduction and establishment of socalistic reforms in the Soviet Union were accompanied by violence, and this resulted in suffering and hardship to a comparatively small segment of the population—mainly the former ruling classes, and the large property owners generally. Because of this most capitalists believe, and practically all philosophers and propagandists of capitalism contend, that violence must be expected to accompany all great socialistic reforms. But it is now clear that because of the very low cultural level of the great mass of the people socialistic reforms, involving as they do drastic changes in the economic and social order, could not have been introduced into the Soviet Union when they were without some violence. Actually there was less violence in that Union than was to be expected during such a vast and abrupt change in the way of life of a very backward people. (Practically all of the violence connected with the establishment of socialistic society in the Soviet Union was due to the fact that the Russian Revolution "got out of hand." This occurred mainly because the cultural level of the masses was so low that revenge against the owning classes for real or imagined wrongs over a long period of time was a strong emotional factor in the actions of the masses, but also because the Soviet leaders did not have the power to control the Revolution after the masses became conscious of their strength. In short, the great mass of the people were so ignorant, emotional, and determined that control of them by re-

sponsible leaders was out of the question. As a consequence of this situation, the masses committed many acts of violence against the rich and the well-to-do generally. Some of this violence was the result of efforts on the part of desperate starving people to obtain what they considered to be their just share of things, but hate for "oppressors" and "exploiters" was the dominating influence in most cases. The Soviet leaders could not afford to risk antagonizing the masses by trying to curb this violence, because these leaders desperately needed the support and confidence of the masses. At this time the masses would have strongly resented any attempt to curb them, and undoubtedly they could not have been curbed in any case as there was little or no force available for this purpose. This was due to the fact that during the early stages of the Revolution, when socialistic reforms were being introduced, the Soviet leaders were fully occupied with the paramount duty of repelling invasions by foreign military forces. These leaders were then compelled by imperative necessity to neglect the domestic situation and to direct most of their attention and effort toward driving out foreign enemies. Any other course would have been disastrous, if not suicidal, but the ignorant starving masses had to be left to shift for themselves, without the benefit of intelligent responsible leadership, and as a result they resorted to unnecessary violence. This was very unfortunate and it weakened temporarily the ethical and moral fiber of the people, but it was inevitable. The very nature of the over-all situation in the Soviet Union precluded the establishment of socialistic reforms in a mild peaceful manner as they were later established in many other countries.)

If a country is well advanced—has a high educational and general cultural level—socialistic reforms can be introduced into it without violence. This is now almost self-evident as many countries, including especially the United States, Canada, England, Scotland, Wales, France, Denmark, Norway, Finland, Australia, and New Zealand, have, since the Russian Revolution, adopted many great socialistic reforms—like or similar to those previously adopted by the Soviet Union—without any violence whatever. England probably is the best example. That country, because of its exceptionally high cultural level, had the least difficulty in making socialistic re-

forms, and made them rapidly on a tremendous scale without even the slightest threat or suggestion of violence. All of these reforms, which greatly changed the economic and social order of England, were made in a strictly democratic manner. The masses did not attempt any anti-democratic activity whatever, and no force was used, or implied, to hold them in check against "exploiters," or any other real or imagined "oppressors." Even the most arrogant of the very rich property owners—members of the ruling classes that had ruled for many centuries—were not subjected to any violence or indignities of any kind, but on the contrary were treated with full democratic consideration. (England clearly proved that great socialistic reforms can be made without violence when the cultural level of the population is high, but there is yet no evidence that such reforms can be made without violence when this level is very low. It follows that a country which may, in the comparatively near future, find it necessary to change from capitalistic society to socialistic society, or even which is considering the desirability of introducing important reforms of a socialistic nature, should immediately take measures to raise its cultural level to as high a plane as possible. Obviously, a high cultural level is the best insurance capitalistic society can have against violent upheavals during the transition period to socialistic society.)

CHAPTER XXIII

Supporters of Materialism (Leftists)

Materialism is supported by all elements of society "left of center" on the world political-economic-social-religious scale, but mainly by the following:

1. Scientists and intellectuals. (These people constitute the most influential force that supports Materialism, and their influence is very great all over the "civilized" world. Many of them, especially the scientists, often avoid political fields, but this does not in any way weaken their influence in the over-all struggle between Materialism and Idealism.)

2. Leaders of organized labor.

3. The "intelligent minority." This is the very small part of the population that leads and directs all democratic (progressive) movements.

4. Industrial workers, but mainly those in factories and large shops. These people see automobiles, street cars, locomotives, airplanes, and many other things which they have made or repaired, operate without any mystery or help from the supernatural. They see the world around them as a part of a system that they have built or shaped. They know that they have made much of it. Gods and other inexplicable beings are not apparent in factories or shops; and it is clear that man alone makes things in those places. Because of this these people develop a tendency to disregard ideas involving supernatural intervention in the affairs of the world. As a consequence they not only do not depend upon supernatural intervention, but accept more responsibility than do those who seek, or depend on, such intervention.

5. Those among the poor who have a passing knowledge of mod-

ern political, economic, social, and religious theories. That is, the "educated" poor.

6. Those who contend that educated people are a great asset to society, and the nation. (This group aids education in every possible way.)

7. Those who encourage friendliness and cooperation between the races. (This group seeks to eliminate the causes of all discord between all peoples.)

8. Those who reject absolutely all "master and subject" race theories, and believe in a classless society. This group would abolish all classes based on race, color, religion, language, parentage, nationality, national or social origin, property status, etc., and it contends that only merit should be recognized. It rejects, as a negative approach, the idea of "collaboration" between the many classes in capitalistic society. It opposes school and college fraternities and sororities, private charities, begging, tipping, and everything else that lends itself to the development of class distinctions or subservient classes. It opposes begging (charity) "drives" of all kinds on the ground that begging of any kind robs the receiver of dignity and self-respect. It insists that taxation is a better—more democratic—way to raise funds for worthy causes.

9. Those who contend that human nature can be changed. (Practically all, if not all, members of this group hold that human nature is constantly changing for the better.)

10. Those who hold that there should be constant progress in cultural development; that political, economic, social, and religious systems become outmoded as civilization advances, and therefore have to be changed. This group holds that all educational systems should be designed to equip people to make changes in their environment to make it conform more closely to human needs.

11. Those who have social consciousness and accept social responsibility.

12. Those who are guided by scientific facts, reason, and common sense, rather than by emotion or prejudice.

13. Those who contend that experience of the senses is the only safe guide to action.

14. Those who contend that women should be completely eman-

cipated; that women should not be hedged about with any legal, ethical, or moral restrictions from which men are free.

15. Those who contend that the child is a "ward of the state"; that the child has certain natural, self-evident, rights such as the right to health, education, wholesome environment, etc., and that it is the duty of the state to guarantee and protect these rights. This group would prohibit the employment of children in factories, shops, mines, stores, etc., or as laborers, news venders, shoe shiners, etc., and would limit child labor to light home chores. It insists on an extension of child labor laws, and contends that a child should never have to support a parent or guardian.

16. Those who oppose privately owned or operated hospitals, orphanages, old people's homes, etc., and especially those operated by religious sects. This group contends that all such institutions should be publicly owned and operated.

17. Those who encourage the extension of all medical knowledge and the scientific practice of medicine.

18. Those who contend that it is to the best interest of the nation that all the people of the nation be as healthy as possible, and that the practice of medicine for private profit tends to prevent good health. This group holds that because of this situation the private practice of medicine should be discontinued, and that all personnel and facilities connected with the health of the nation should be included in a public service system, supported by taxation. In other words, this group believes in socialized medicine.

19. Those who contend that the state should operate an economic and social security system that extends from birth to death. This group holds that it is the duty of the state to guarantee work or subsistence for everyone. That is, it holds that the state should guarantee economic and social security to everyone. (Most members of this group contend that all expenses connected with the birth, death, and disposition of the body of everyone should be borne by the nation as a whole. They generally hold that the disposal of the dead should be a government function, and favor cremation and the abolition of graveyards, which they consider a serious economic waste.)

20. Those who believe in a materialistic conception of history.

21. The Young generally.

22. Those who put scientific fact above religious faith, if a choice must be made.

23. Those who reject all supernatural explanations of things. This group contends that only science, developed by man, can explain things.

24. Humanists, humanitarians, freethinkers, deists, dissenters, non-conformists, doubters, agnostics, etc. These people reject as untenable in the light of reason, common sense, and scientific knowledge the idea of wrathful, jealous, anthropomorphic, and paganistic gods generally. However, many of these people believe in the "creator" (supreme being, first cause, etc.) conception of God, but none of them fear any god or gods. Most members of this group hold that all people have a natural, self-evident, right to change or discard their religious beliefs, faiths, creeds, etc., at will, without interference from any source whatever.

25. Those who do not believe in the theory of reward or punishment after death. (These people do not deny the possibility of a life after death, but they reject the generally held theory that some will be rewarded and some will be punished for their actions and thoughts while on earth, mainly because there is no certain or positive way for anyone to determine what is good and what is bad. The principal doctrine of this group is based on the "Golden Rule" idea.)

26. Those who want their "reward," if any, here and now, and ignore threats or suggestions of an unpleasant future existence for "unbelievers."

27. The Modernists in religion. These people reject all religious dogmas, beliefs, traditions, creeds, etc., that tend to prevent or delay progress. They do not believe in miracles, that the Bible is the literal word of God, or that a supernatural being answers prayers. (They believe that prayer has a subjective effect only, and concede that it has some value as an emotional outlet for very ignorant or superstitious old people, but for nothing else.)

28. Those who contend that religion should be separated from politics, economics, and sociology. That is, these people contend that religion should confine itself to supernaturalism.

29. Those who contend that any or all property of religious organizations should be taxed.

30. Those who oppose teaching religion to small children and who reject entirely the idea that anyone, including a parent, has any right to force, by any means, a child to accept any religious belief. (This group holds that it is a mistake to force a child to say prayers; that such action has a harmful psychological effect on a child, and therefore should not be taken.)

31. Those who contend that education in public schools should be compulsory for every child, and who oppose parochial schools and private schools generally.

32. Those who contend that crime is due to mental illness, caused almost entirely by bad environment, mainly in childhood, and lack of security, and that it should be treated as a disease. This group contends that it is more important to eliminate conditions within society that produce criminals than it is to punish criminals.

33. Those who contend that wars are caused mainly by greed (a desire for material gain, that is, for economic reasons), fear, and vanity—and therefore should be abolished.

34. Those who contend that wars are never necessary or desirable, but hold that revolutions are sometimes necessary.

35. Those who would abolish forever all "divine right" or hereditary rulers.

36. Those who oppose any kind of dictatorship except socialistic dictatorship, which they hold is necessary in certain extreme conditions and circumstances. This group holds that majority rule is the best form of government, but that it is impracticable when the majority is very ignorant and superstitious.

37. Those who contend that government should be in the hands of civilians at all times. (This group opposes military conscription within capitalistic countries because conscription causes dangerous tensions to develop within and between the working classes, and in this way weakens the morale of the nation. Those conscripted become resentful of those who "escape" the draft. This divides the workers, and the poor generally, into "hostile" factions, and as a result the collective bargaining power of the workers is weakened.)

38. Those who favor a world federation or union of states, like, or similar to, the United Nations, or world government.

39. The "Internationalists." That is, those who believe in close cooperation between all nations.

40. Those who favor an extension of the civil service ("merit") system, and a reduction of the political appointive ("spoils") system in government.

41. Artists generally.

42. Those who consider the ethical aspects of their employment, and refuse to do anything that defrauds, misleads, or in any other way harms the public.

43. Those who favor short working hours for all workers. (This group favors labor unions.)

44. Those who reject the idea that the exploitation of human beings is now, or can ever again be, just or proper.

45. Those who contend that human rights are more important than property rights. This group contends that it is the duty of the state to prevent suffering among the poor, even though this may necessitate an increase in taxes.

46. Those who contend that public utilities should be publicly owned.

47. Those who contend that the entire monetary and credit system should be publicly owned.

48. Those who contend that a cooperative (public enterprise) economic system is best for a country. (That is, this group contends that a "production for use" economic system is better than a "production for profit" economic system.)

49. Those who contend that the chief natural resources and the chief means of production and distribution of a country should be publicly owned.

50. Those who contend that democracy will not suffer if capitalism is displaced by socialism.

Because Materialism is divided into two parts—Mechanical Materialism and Modern Materialism—its supporters do not agree as well as do the supporters of Idealism on methods of procedure in the struggle between the two philosophies. (This circumstance tends to make the struggle less abrupt than it would be if the supporters of Materialism were in full accord on courses of action. It also tends to lengthen the struggle, and prevent it from moving more rapidly,

but this cannot be considered a serious disadvantage to progress at the present stage of human development, and civilization generally. A more rapid change in philosophical thought at this time, when such a large percentage of the people of the world are guided mainly by their emotions, might produce unnecessary violence among people who are able to improve their position in society by democratic means. It is self-evident that when people can easily improve their condition of life without violence they should not resort to it, and this situation now exists in many countries.)

The great majority of the supporters of both Mechanical Materialism and Modern Materialism seek to change the world to make it more nearly conform to human needs and desires. But the supporters of Modern Materialism are in the lead in this endeavor, and because of this they are making many converts and are rapidly increasing their influence, while the supporters of Mechanical Materialism are slowly losing their influence. As a result of this situation Mechanical Materialism probably will disappear as a potent intellectual force if the supporters of Modern Materialism continue to increase their influence, and this seems certain. However, Mechanical Materialism is making converts from Idealism, and has a considerable following in all levels of capitalistic society, but especially among business, professional, and military men.

People who believe that the world can and will be made a better place in which to live tend to become materialists. Because of this the progressive side of the ruling classes in capitalistic society is moving toward Materialism, and will not move toward Idealism. People who accept Modern Materialism move farther away from Idealism than those who accept Mechanical Materialism, but the difference between the two kinds of Materialisms is not great. Actually much of the difference is not important and is due more to philosophical "hair-splitting" than to anything vital. (In the struggle between Materialism and Idealism a small, but influential, minority of the mechanical materialists are aiding Idealism, almost entirely for economic reasons. They, however, agree with the idealists only on courses of action to offset the influence of Modern Materialism, which they consider somewhat too "radical." All the other mechanical materailists are opposing Idealism, and will do so to the end.)

CHAPTER XXIV

The Approaching Crisis

The political-economic-social-religious world order is now moving rapidly from a capitalistic base to a socialistic base, and is near the point where the "qualitative" change (climax) will occur. Capitalism is now fighting a desperate "rear guard" action, and its forces are deteriorating while the forces of socialism are gaining in strength. The rate of movement toward the socialistic base varies from time to time, but it cannot be turned back for a considerable length of time, or permanently halted.

The strongest force that supports capitalism in this struggle is Idealism, and this philosophy is in a strongly intrenched position which it has established by many thousands of years of constant painstaking effort in molding the "social superstructure" of slave, feudal, and capitalist society. Because of this circumstance it would seem that Idealism could easily defend capitalism against any challenge. But Idealism, by its nature, especially attracts people who consider faith, belief, and intuition, even though unsupported by scientific evidence, the best guides to action, and the very great majority of its supporters are in this class. Because of this, and also because of the need to satisfy its supporters, Idealism encourages ignorance, superstition, and belief in supernatural intervention in the affairs of man. Idealism, of necessity, must do these things, and this weakens its position as an intellectual force in the modern world; therefore its value as a defense weapon for capitalism is limited.

The strongest force that supports socialism in this struggle is Materialism. This philosophy not only has the support of all people who consider science the best guide to action, but also is aided by technology, common sense, reason, intelligence, and the rise of public education. It necessarily follows that because the struggle being

fought between the ideologies is mainly between ideas based on faith, unsupported by scientific evidence, and ideas based on scientific facts, neither ideology can improve its position by changing its philosophy. That is, neither capitalism nor socialism can gain any advantage by adopting the philosophy of the other ideology, and therefore each must win or lose with the weapons it now possesses.

This situation, which has developed mainly since the First World War, strongly favors socialism because the philosophy of capitalism contains many discredited and clearly obsolete ideas. Many of these ideas involve superstition and supernaturalisms, which are of no value as defense weapons in dealings with educated people, even though they have some value in dealings with ignorant people who are easily influenced and controlled by emotion. In most cases if these ideas are not presented in an emotional manner they are not accepted and therefore are worthless, or even liabilities rather than assets to capitalism. Even when presented in this manner to the ignorant these ideas sometimes are of little or no value to capitalism, and they are always totally rejected by the highly educated. Obviously, these ideas are becoming of less value as education advances, but even so capitalism is compelled to use them—and cannot possibly discard them—as they are the chief supports of this ideology.

Because of this situation, which is undermining the defenses of capitalism, exceedingly clever propaganda techniques, designed to create strong emotion, and in this way mislead and confuse the ignorant, are necessary for effective dissemination of discredited and obsolete ideas that support capitalism. Without such techniques capitalism would soon be defeated. On the other hand, socialism not only does not depend on obsolete ideas, but also never uses them for any purpose, and therefore needs no propaganda techniques to disseminate such ideas. Obsolete ideas never become a part of the philosophy of socialism, as this philosophy always discards, as of no value, ideas that have become obsolete. This general situation, as regards different kinds of ideas, is the dominating factor in the struggle between the ideologies and it is present throughout the entire world. It has a tendency to make socialism stronger and capitalism weaker as science and reason displace emotion, faith, intuition, and belief in supernatural intervention in the affairs of man as guides to

action. Obviously, man becomes more rational as education advances.

It is not probable that many of the better educated and more intelligent capitalists retain hope for a change in the situation that will make victory for capitalism possible, and it is reasonably certain that they are continuing the fight only to delay, as long as possible, eventual defeat. When they will consider further resistance, useless, or unwise, and as a result discontinue their struggle depends mainly on the effectiveness of future capitalistic propaganda. But unless this propaganda can be made much more effective than it has been since the Second World War—and this seems impossible—capitalism almost certainly will be thoroughly discredited as an acceptable ideology for the modern world, and therefore rendered indefensible within a century. (It is possible that the capitalists in some countries, but especially those in the United States, Brazil, and Canada, may, by judicious use of socialistic methods, effect a temporary "stalemate" between capitalism and socialism, but only the more intelligent and progressive capitalists will attempt this. The more ignorant and reactionary capitalists will always oppose these methods.)

In the struggle between the ideologies, time is on the side of the advocates of socialism, and because of this they will not employ military force, unless absolutely necessary to defend their ideology. From now on they will rely mainly on accomplished facts and the force of events which make it necessary for the supporters of capitalism to accept or recognize these facts, and as a consequence lose their confidence in capitalism as a realistic ideology in the modern world. The supporters of capitalism, on the other hand, have no choice but to rely on deception (mainly false propaganda disguised as "news"), force, reform, emotion, and prejudice, as recent facts of history are contrary to the interests of capitalism. For example, the spread of socialistic principles—mainly in the British Commonwealth of Nations, in China, and in western Europe—that has occurred since the Second World War has greatly weakened all existing capitalistic society and has strengthened socialistic society.

Socialism will eventually emerge as the dominant world ideology, but it can be delayed, and its emergence can be made much less abrupt, if the capitalists accept a realistic view of their clearly vulnerable position, and use intelligently their three chief weapons: de-

ception, force, and reform. If they greatly decrease their use of force and increase their use of reform the life of capitalism will be extended considerably. On the other hand, if they continue to rely mainly on deception and force socialism will emerge sooner than it would under any other condition, and it will be accompanied by a greater degree of violence. (Within all capitalistic society deception and force lead directly to fascism—the most reactionary form of capitalism —and both of these weapons are now being used as much as possible in all capitalistic society. Because of this all capitalistic democracies are in much more danger from fascism than they are from any form of socialistic society. Actually, most capitalistic democracies are now near the stage where fascism could emerge as the "savior" of capitalism from socialism.)

Reform has great merit as a defense weapon against socialism. It not only is the best device by which the inevitable victory for socialism can be delayed, but capitalists can use it to their personal advantage. And in fact all of the more intelligent and progressive capitalists do use it whenever demands for a more equal distribution of the good things of life become great, as was the case during the great depression of 1929-1939. (Necessary concessions to these demands often aid capitalists by presenting them with opportunities to sell deteriorating and unprofitable enterprises to the public at a profit. And many such enterprises have been transferred to public ownership—in some cases even under the guise of philanthropy—in such a manner that the capitalists concerned not only lost nothing, but actually profited greatly by the exchange.)

Because time is on the side of the advocates of socialism, the way in which this ideology will displace capitalism—whether slowly in peace or rapidly in war—depends mainly on the actions of the supporters of capitalism. If they throw everything into the balance in a war to the death against the advocates of socialism, they will lose, and capitalism will end sooner than it would under any kind of peace conditions. However, should they greatly increase their reformist tactics, which became popular with most progressive capitalists after the Russian Revolution, and accept many more of the changes in the world political-economic-social-religious order which the advocates of socialism demand, they will weaken the influence of

those who desire a change of ideologies and thereby increase the life expectancy of capitalism.

A great extension of state-guaranteed economic and social security measures throughout the capitalistic world would greatly aid capitalism, and this is the best reformist action that can now be taken to delay the establishment of world socialism. An extension of public works projects such as canal building, road building, flood control, irrigation, reclamation, etc., would aid the state to maintain this security. But this action should be supplemented by a great extension of public ownership of public utilities and natural resources.

Such a program of public enterprise would involve government employment of many workers, and this would lessen the shock of depressions in capitalistic countries. This program not only would delay victory for socialism, but would also eliminate whatever need that may be held to exist for a war to stimulate business and would be good insurance against a serious revolt against capitalism, as may occur should another great depression occur. It would not save capitalism, but it would allow the transition from capitalism to socialism to proceed in a relatively slow and mild manner. Without any doubt this would be much the best way for the transition to take place as far as humanity is concerned, because it would save many millions of lives and also give opponents of socialism a good opportunity to adjust themselves to a new way of life without severe shock or hardship. And it would be infinitely better than its probable alternative—the Third World War.

The interests of humanity demand that civilization advance, but civilization cannot advance much farther until war is abolished. This is true, even though it is also true that some wars have been necessary to free people from oppression and to clear the way for progress. (There can be no doubt that war advances science and increases production faster than anything else does, and in this respect is an aid to man. War also causes travel and a redistribution of populations, and this is of importance to progress, but even so no future war can be worth its cost.)

Civilization has now passed the stage where war can aid man more than it will harm him. From now on whatever good war can

accomplish can be better accomplished by education, and education does not require the sacrifice of the best men of the nation on the battlefield. Fortunately for civilization, more interest is now being taken in ways and means to prevent war, and there is a growing determination on the part of all unselfish thinking people that another great war must be avoided. It is the duty of all these people to maintain and strengthen this determination. They must now, more than ever before, strive for world peace.

INDEX

Abelard, 213
Abolitionists, 204
Absolute, the 31, 83
Adam, 56, 97
Adams, John, 132
Adams, Samuel, 132, 214
Addams, Jane, 213
Afghanistan, 197
Africa, 42, 59, 91, 93, 184, 217, 233
Albania, 187, 202
Alexander the Great, 33
Allen, Ethan, 133
America, 73, 147
American, 86, 229, 230, 243, 267, 268
American Capitalism, 230, 243
American Indians, 17
American Pragmatism, 86
American Revolution, 117, 286
Americanism, 243
Anabaptists, 123
Anaxagoras, 100-106, 107, 213
Anaximander, 100
Aquinas, 63-65, 211
Arab, 129
Arabic, 129
Arabs, 60
Aramaic, 48
Arians, 51
Aristotle, 27, 30-32, 70, 77, 121, 213
Arius, 213
Arminianists, 123
Asia, 42, 59, 91, 182-184, 191, 192, 201, 217, 230, 233, 281, 296
Asiatic, 183
Asoka 211, 213
Ataturk, Kemal, 214
Athenian, 30, 32, 102, 106
Athenians, 32
Athens, 103, 104, 106, 107
Attlee, 187
Augustine, 52, 53, 55, 63, 72
Augustinian, 53-56
Australia, 163, 190, 191, 299
Austria, 155, 202, 217, 232, 233
Averroes, 213

Bacon, Francis, 213
Bacon, Roger, 213
Baptists, 123
Bavaria, 187
Belgium, 182, 232
Bentham, Jeremy, 213
Bergson, Henri, 85, 87
Berkeley, George, 66-69
Berlin, 187
Bevin, Ernest, 214
Bible, 66, 97, 118, 123-126, 131
Blum, Leon, 213
Bohemia, 66
Bolivar, Simon, 213
Bologna, 62
Bonaparte, Napoleon, 151, 213
Branting, Hjalmar, 213
Brazil, 139, 189, 310
Briand, Aristide, 213
Britain, 44, 51
British, 229
British Commonwealth of Nations, 310
British Empire, 297
British Labor Party, 210
Bruno, 213
Buddha, 211-213
Buddhism, 52, 284
Buddhist, 193
Bulgaria, 163, 187, 195, 202, 217, 232
Burma, 91, 187, 202, 204

Caesar, Julius, 80, 109, 213
Calles, 186
Calvin, John, 72, 126, 132
Calvinism, 72, 73, 123
Calvinistic, 73
Calvinists, 72, 73, 122, 123, 250
Canada, 163, 189, 191-194, 299, 310
Capitalism, 2, 4, 115, 177, 187, 199, 200, 202-4, 221-223, 226-31, 241, 250, 267
Cardenas, 186
Cartesian, 129-131, 143, 144, 147
Ceylon, 202
Charles, I, 116
Chiang Kai-shek, 184, 188
China, 14, 91, 163, 164, 184, 186, 187, 92-194, 197, 202, 204, 300
Chinese, 194, 196, 197
Chinese Revolution, 96, 196
Christ, 41
Christian, 34, 38, 39, 42, 44, 46-49, 51-57, 59, 63, 64, 70, 108-110, 152, 153, 193, 196, 278-281
Christian Church, 56, 193
Christian Era, 51, 109, 110, 265
Christianity, 26, 37-39, 41, 42, 44, 46, 47, 49-51, 53-55, 58, 64, 109, 114, 273, 284
Christians, 93, 118, 159, 289
Church, 45, 49, 56-65, 111-114, 118
Church Fathers, 26, 52, 54, 55, 109, 131

Clemenceau, Georges, 213
Cobden, Richard, 213
Coligny, 213
Colonialism, 183
Comte, Auguste, 134, 139, 140, 213
Confucianism, 196, 284
Confucius, 211-213
Congregationalists, 123
Conservatives, 206, 208, 209, 212, 215, 218
Constantine, 50
Copernicus, 112, 113, 129, 213
Creator, 132
Critias, 104, 105
Cromwell, 213
Cuba, 187
Cynicism, 32
Czechoslovakia, 187, 202, 228, 233

Danish, 125
Dante, 62
Danton, Georges, 213
Dark Ages, 51, 54-58, 60-63, 109, 112, 121, 152, 200, 296
Darwin, Charles, 140-142, 213
Debs, Eugene, 213
Declaration of Independence, 132, 164
Democracy, 97, 99, 179, 180, 183-187, 189, 190, 194, 195, 198
Democritus, 100, 107, 109, 213
Denmark, 163, 188, 190, 191, 202, 233, 296, 299
Descartes, Rene, 129, 213
Determinism, 71, 74
Dewey, John, 85, 86
Dictatorship, 183-188, 191, 193-195, 199, 201
Diderot, Denis, 213
Dionysus, 37-39
Divine Providence, 132
Dualism, 24-29, 31, 85
Dutch, 125

Ebert, Friedrich, 213
Economics, 8, 97, 219, 220, 222, 281, 283, 295
Egypt, 14, 40, 51, 101
Eire, 182, 232
Eisner, 186
Engels, Friedrich, 154, 162, 213
England, 62, 66, 116, 124, 125, 153, 162, 163, 171, 190, 191, 201, 228, 244, 296, 299, 300
English 117, 122, 125, 131, 201
Epicureanism, 108, 109
Epicurus, 100, 108, 110, 146, 213
Episcopalians, 122, 123

Eire, 182, 232
Europe, 24, 42, 59, 60, 66, 73, 91, 103, 116, 118, 120-122, 152-154, 156, 182, 183, 191, 193, 200, 201, 230, 232, 233, 257, 281, 286, 296, 310
European, 83, 120, 151, 202
European Capitalism, 229, 230, 232, 245, 267
Europeans, 120

Fabians, 171
Falangists, 124, 185
Fascists, 149, 185
Feudalism, 115, 153, 222, 223, 239
Feuerbach, Ludwig, 134, 139, 140, 213
Finland, 187, 202, 217, 299
First World War, 240, 253, 255, 257-260, 263, 267, 281, 290, 309
Flemish, 62
France, 123, 124, 153, 155, 162, 190, 191, 201, 228, 232, 244, 296, 297, 299
Franco, Francisco, 188
Franklin, Benjamin, 132, 213
Free Will, 71, 74, 75, 108
Freedom, 75, 77, 210, 231, 258, 285-7, 290, 291, 295, 297
French, 81, 125, 131, 229
French Encyclopedists, 132
French Revolution, 82, 130, 139, 153, 154, 286

Galileo, 113, 129, 213
Garibaldi, Giuseppe, 213
Gaul, 44, 51
Gentiles, 46
German, 83, 84, 125, 131, 229
German Idealism, 76, 79, 83
Germans, 83
Germany, 51, 84, 153, 155, 162, 184, 201, 229, 232, 257, 259, 296
God, 26, 27, 30, 34, 41, 47, 50, 53, 55-58, 60-63, 67-73, 78, 94, 96, 97, 112, 113, 115, 116, 120, 121, 123, 124, 130-132, 136-138, 141, 250, 279-282, 301, 304
Goethe, Johann von, 213
Great Britain, 187, 201, 232, 240, 241
Greece, 13, 14, 20, 22, 24-27, 29, 32, 37, 44, 100-103, 107, 109, 182, 204, 211, 232, 233, 257
Greek, 14, 24, 25, 27, 29, 32, 33, 35, 38, 47, 48, 63, 103, 104, 109, 121, 212
Greek Idealism, 14, 24, 27
Greeks, 22, 32-34, 40, 103
Gustavus Adolphus, 213

Hegel, Georg, 79-83, 85, 157, 161
Henry, VII, 116

Henry, VIII, 122, 213
Heraclitus, 100-102, 107, 213
Hindu, 41, 192
Hinduism, 40, 284
Hindus, 93, 176, 192
Hitler, Adolf, 184, 188, 229, 259, 260
Hobbes, Thomas, 34, 117
Holbach, Baron d', 134, 139, 146, 214
Holland, 124
Holy Alliance, 152-155
Holy Roman Empire, 83, 115
Homoiousians, 50, 51
Homoousians, 50, 51
Hugo, Victor, 213
Huguenots, 122, 123, 147
Humanism, 120, 121
Humanists, 120, 121, 304
Hume, David, 61, 138, 213
Hungary, 163, 164, 187, 195, 201, 217, 232, 233
Huss, 66, 213

Idealism, 1, 3-8, 14, 15, 24, 26, 27, 33, 38, 40, 46, 47, 51, 53, 54, 56, 60, 63, 68, 70, 76, 85, 87-93, 96, 100, 102, 108, 111, 134, 139-141, 144, 148, 151, 272, 301, 307, 308
Ikhnaton, 211, 212
India, 14, 51, 197, 217, 233
Indo-China, 202, 204
Indonesia, 204
Ingersoll, Robert, 213
Inquisition, 123, 147
Iran, 197
Iraq, 197
Italian, 125
Italy, 124, 182, 184, 217, 232

Jackson, Andrew, 213
Jainism, 284
James, William, 85
Japan, 217, 297
Jefferson, Thomas, 120, 132, 164, 213
Jesus, 39, 44, 45, 47-51, 54, 55, 58, 130, 139, 159, 213
Jewish, 48, 52, 64
Jewish-Christian God, 25
Jewish-Christian-Mohammedan God, 41
Jews, 34, 41, 44, 46, 62-64, 66, 118
Jordan, 197
Juarez, Benito, 213
Judaism, 37, 38, 40, 44, 284
Justice, 22, 101, 265

Kalinin, Mikhail, 213
Kant, Immanuel, 76-78, 82, 87
Kepler, 113, 129
King James, 124
Knights Templars, 60
Knox, John, 132, 265
Korea, 91, 187, 202, 204
Korean War, 263
Krishna, 41
Kropotkin, Alexander, 213
Kun, 187

Lafayette, Marquis de, 213
Latin America, 123, 152
Lazarus, 46
Leibnitz, Gottfried, 134, 137
Leland, John, 123
Lenin, Nikolai, 163, 213
Liberals, 206, 209, 210, 212, 217
Life, 4, 15-18, 26, 28-32, 34-36, 39, 44, 45, 49, 52, 87, 102, 120, 176
Lincoln, Abraham, 213
Litvinov, Maxim, 214
Lloyd-George, David, 213
Locke, John, 66, 67, 117, 120, 134, 137, 138, 213
London, 83
Loyalists, 187
Lucretius, 109, 110, 213
Luke, 46
Luther, Martin, 126, 132, 213
Lutherans, 122

Madero, Francisco, 213
Madison, James, 132, 213
Malaya, 204
Marat, Jean, 212
Marx, Karl, 79, 102, 144, 154-158, 214
Marxism, 102, 140, 144, 151, 154, 155, 157-159
Mary, 40
Masaryk, Thomas, 213
Masses, 206-208, 214-217
Materialism, 1-8, 14, 32, 33, 66, 76, 79, 86, 92, 100-105, 109-111, 121, 127, 129, 134, 140, 143, 148, 158, 159, 165, 166, 197, 272, 287, 292, 301, 306-308
Matthew, 46, 47
Mazzini, Guiseppe, 213
Mechanical Materialism, 85, 148-151, 244, 246, 306, 307
Mennonites, 123
Men of the Renaissance, 127-129
Methodist, 122
Metternich, Prince von, 152
Mexican, 216
Mexico, 186
Middle Ages, 26, 85, 103, 257

Mill, John Stuart, 213
Mirabeau, Honore, 213
Modern Materialism, 143, 144, 149, 158-164, 166-168, 171, 179, 184, 186, 188, 199, 205, 206, 219, 223, 224, 234, 236, 237, 239, 244, 246-249, 251, 252, 261, 264, 265, 272-280, 282-284, 289, 292-296, 306, 307
Mohammed Akbar, 213
Mohammedan, 279
Mohammedanism, 284
Mohammedans, 60, 63, 64, 93, 192, 289
Mongolia, 91, 187
Monroe Doctrine, 153
Mormanism, 284
Moscow, 297
Mussolini, Benito, 184, 188, 228

Naturalism, 165
Nature's God, 132
Nazi-Fascists, 202, 245, 297
Nazis, 149
Near East, 40, 46
Neoplatonism, 52, 53
Netherlands, The, 182, 232, 296
Newton, 129, 133, 213
Newtonism, 68
New Zealand, 163, 190, 191, 299
North America, 123
Norway, 163, 188, 190, 191, 202, 299

Obregon, 186
Owen, Robert, 213

Paine, Thomas, 132, 214
Pakistan, 197
Palestine, 45, 48
Paris, 83
Paris Commune, 158, 186
Pelagians, 51
Pelagius, 213
Periclean, 105
Pericles, 107, 211, 213
Persia, 14
Persian, 104
Peter, 47
Philippine Islands, 18, 204
Philosophy, 1, 6, 8, 11-15, 20, 24, 29, 31, 32, 34, 36, 38, 40, 44, 46, 48, 51-53, 55-58, 60, 63, 64, 66, 68, 71, 76, 79, 85, 87, 88, 90-92, 104-108, 111, 119, 120, 125, 129-131, 134, 139, 143, 145, 148, 149, 152, 154, 158-160, 162, 166, 174, 188, 196, 205, 223, 225, 234, 235, 246-248, 272, 273, 284, 292, 309
Plato, 27, 29, 30, 52
Plekhanov, Georg, 213
Plotinus, 52
Poland, 163, 164, 187, 195, 202, 232
Politics, 8, 97, 179, 219, 220, 277, 281, 283, 295
Portugal, 182, 186, 232, 233
Positivism, 139
Pragmatism, 85, 86, 148
Predestination, 71-74
Presbyterians, 122
Progressives, 206, 208-210, 212, 215-218
Protagoras, 100, 104, 213
Protestant, 30, 122-124, 126, 128
Protestantism, 59, 73, 114, 118, 121, 130, 286
Protestant Reformation, 296
Protestants, 55, 61, 66, 72, 73, 114, 118, 274, 286
Prussian, 83
Puritans, 122
Pythagoras, 27, 28, 90, 102
Pythagoreans, 27, 28

Reactionaries, 206-209, 212, 214-218
Reformation, 59, 61, 72, 114, 121-123, 125, 216, 286
Religion, 9, 12, 20, 36, 38, 41-43, 100, 272, 273, 275-277
Renaissance, 4, 24, 30, 34, 35, 55, 59, 60, 69-71, 75, 83, 85, 107, 112, 113, 115, 117, 118, 120, 122-124, 127-129, 131, 132, 134-137, 144, 151, 167, 193, 212, 221, 268, 273, 274, 296
Ricardo, David, 225
Roman, 33, 38, 40, 43, 44, 48, 50, 52, 109, 110
Roman Catholic Church, 4, 53, 57, 58, 115, 116, 286
Roman Catholicism, 114
Roman Catholics, 55, 123, 125, 126
Roman Church, 59, 61, 66, 72, 111-114, 118, 121-124, 127, 131
Roman Church Idealism, 121
Roman Empire, 33, 34, 41, 42, 44, 49-52
Romania, 163, 187, 202, 217, 232
Roman Republic-Empire, 33, 34, 41-45, 47, 49-52, 109, 112
Romans, 42, 43
Rome, 13, 43, 44, 52, 62, 107, 211, 251
Roosevelt, Franklin D., 214
Roosevelt New Deal, 210, 242, 244
Rousseau, Jean, 211, 213
Russia, 189, 190, 200, 221, 240, 269
Russian, 131
Russian Revolution, 68, 189, 196, 221, 267, 287, 298, 299

Russians, 199, 200

Salvation by Catastrophe, 5, 228, 258, 259
San Martin, Jose de, 213
Saudi Arabia, 197
Scholasticism, 120
Scholastics, 60, 61
Scotland, 163, 190, 191, 296, 399
Second World War, 5, 149, 186-188, 195, 198, 201, 204, 205, 216, 227, 228, 230, 232, 241, 242, 257-260, 263, 268, 298, 310
Shintoism, 284
Siberia, 189
Sikhism, 284
Skepticism, 32, 35
Slavery, 21, 43, 265
Smith, Adam, 119
Socialism, 2, 4, 115, 162, 164, 165, 177, 204, 223, 226, 227, 229, 235, 237, 266, 267
Sociology, 9, 97, 219, 220, 281, 283, 295
Socrates, 27, 29, 107
Socrates-Plato, 161
Solon, 213
Sophists, 103-105
Soul, 24-27, 29-31, 33, 62, 64, 65
South America, 93, 139, 184, 217, 233
Soviet, 199, 201, 203, 245, 270, 271, 299
Soviet Union, 5, 91, 163, 164, 171, 186, 188, 190, 194, 197, 198, 202, 203, 205, 229, 230, 232, 241, 244, 245, 268, 270, 271, 296-299
Spain, 14, 83, 182, 184, 187, 190, 228, 232, 233, 257
Spanish, 84, 125
Spanish War, 257
Spartacists, 187
Spartans, 103
Spencer, Herbert, 147, 213
Spinoza, Baruch, 80, 134, 136, 138, 213
Stalin, Joseph, 163
Stoicism, 32-34, 50, 110, 177
Stoics, 44
St. Simon, Count de, 213
Sweden, 163, 188, 190, 191, 296
Swedish, 125
Switzerland, 124, 232, 296
Sun Yat-sen, 186, 213
Syria, 40, 43, 197

Taoism, 196, 284
Teleology, 61
Thales, 100, 144, 212
Theodosius the Great, 39, 62
Third World War, 312
Tories, 117
Toussaint, L'Ouverture, 212
Trotsky, Leon, 214
Troy, 109
Turkey, 182, 232
Tyler, Wat, 213

Unitarianism, 51
United Nations, 98, 205, 305
United States, 85, 119, 147, 148, 153, 163, 188-194, 201, 204, 231, 232, 238, 240, 242, 243, 253, 255, 257, 258, 262-264, 270, 297, 299, 310
United States Constitution, 123, 132

Vitalism, 87
Voltaire, 213

Wales, 163, 190, 191, 296, 299
Washington, George, 132, 213
Webb, Sidney, 213
Welsh, 125
Whigs, 117
William the Silent, 213
Williams, Roger, 123
Wilson, Woodrow, 213
Wycliffe, 66, 118, 213

Yugoslavia, 163, 164, 187, 195, 201, 233

Zeno, 34
Zeus, 105
Zoroastrianism, 284
Zwingli, Ulrich, 132, 213

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